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CAN PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY DO IT?

AT LEAST once a year every American community goes through an orgy of charity, philanthropy, and good will. One need not be hauled before a church tribunal for suggesting that the religious significance of the Yuletide season plays a rather insignificant part in this extravagance of giving. Give one must. It matters little why, what, and to whom one gives. It matters little whether those to whom gifts are presented need them. It matters even less whether the gifts are articles of any use or just Christmas presents. One simply must give. By implication, one must receive. For suppose one were to organize an order of protestants under a captious slogan, "We do not take any Christmas presents!" What would become of our Christmas trade?

So far as these gifts are limited to the narrow circles of family or friends, they represent an aspect of intimate personal life rather than social and economic relationships. But, of course, Christmas-giving is not limited to such narrow circles. The policeman on the street or perhaps the subway conductor appears with a tin can, dinning the appealing cry into receptive ears: "Food and shoes for the kiddies." Dimes and quarters drop in a steady rain, without anyone stopping to inquire, "What kiddies?" "Why should shoes be provided for them in this curious fashion?" Sturdy young men who should be at work stand on the corners in silly, padded, red coats, stamping their feet, anxiously trying to keep their snow-white whisk-

ers from falling, and beg for contributions for turkey dinners and Christmas toys. Staid and respectable newspapers follow the initiative of the *New York Times* in printing heart-rending stories (not always accurate) of the neediest cases. It is the Yuletide season, and the spirit of good will to all must be utilized to the fullest extent. It would be antisocial, a modern sociologist might say, to put any obstacles in the way of this humanitarian spirit. And again, what would the department stores say? But has anyone figured the social results of the orgy? We do not even know the extent and the cost of it. Statistics of retail sales, of the excess of December sales over those of January, might offer some measure, though an incomplete one. But how large a proportion of the money spent is wasted in the purchase of useless articles? How many digestions are spoiled by the unnecessary turkey dinners? How many people are taught the perilous habit of getting and begging?

And what is more important, how large a share of the sense of social responsibility to and for the fellow-man is dissipated in this way? How many consciences are saved by this easy, highly inefficient, and cheap exercise of the humanitarian emotion? Nobody knows! Only once in a while one gets a glimpse of the by-products of these unrestrained Yuletide emotions, when one reads for instance of the Irish lady reported by Dr. Sophonisba Breckinridge in a case record of a family agency, who bitterly complained that this Christmas was not a good one for she received only five Christmas baskets.

Well, Christmas cheer, no matter how generously distributed, will not solve the problem of economic distress in our communities. That is disputed by few. But there is another altruistic orgy through which an increasing number of our cities are going each year (nearly 300 cities in 1927), the community chest or the welfare federation drive.

A pathetic little girl on crutches appears in every store window. "Do you care?" reads the legend, or "Supposing nobody cared?" Or it may be an equally pathetic but good-looking young widow with a baby in her arms. Or it may be an old gentleman with patriarchal whiskers. Whatever the emblem, whatever the artist's imagination, primarily the appeal is to pity. Now pity—human sympathy—is a

very powerful stimulus of individual as well as of mass action. The pity of Christmas-giving is altogether unorganized, inchoate, elemental. The pity of a community chest drive is organized and directed. It claims at least to be based upon a careful study of community problems, the needs as well as possibilities. The little girl on crutches is only a slogan. The machinery of the drive is complex and business-like. There are lists of prospects, filing systems, circular letters. There are budget committees studying the requests of various agencies, and there are auditors to analyze their accounts. There is the publicity department which presumably endeavors to educate the public to the nature and extent of community needs but, in most cases, feeds the public instead on sob stories in order to stimulate the productive emotion of pity. There is often the highly expert and trained campaign manager. And, of course, there is the army of energetic, well-meaning team lieutenants, captains, and generals. There are openings and closings of the drive, luncheons and "get-togethers," and a final triumph of "going over the top." In other words, there is a great hullabaloo—one that has become so highly developed during the last decade that it has already created its technique, its literature, its authorities and leaders, its traditions and principles, perhaps its chairs of instruction in colleges and professional schools.

A community in action—in action for a socially constructive purpose—is surely not an aspect of American life to sneer at or to be taken lightly. Contrast the open antagonism and hidden resistance, the cheating and avoiding of income tax, with the seemingly cheerful way in which a community voluntarily imposes a tax upon itself—a quota—and then proceeds to collect it. The income tax has been increased, and there is gnashing of teeth. "Let us get this million dollars. Let us go over the top," shouts the campaign orator at the opening banquet, and the audience applauds enthusiastically. Surely, a scene to fill the heart of the democrat with joy at this evidence of the working out of the fundamental principle of communal action. And there is a pardonable pride in the fact that we are dealing here with a peculiar American institution. As Professor C. E. A. Winslow of Yale has said, "This is a unique phenomenon of American life—the tendency to do in this country through volun-

tary effort what in almost all the other countries of the world is done by the country itself." One reason, he thinks, is the relative failure of our governmental agencies.

By reason of this poverty of governmental service, we have been forced to supplement the activities of our governmental agencies by voluntary leadership. In many communities, we have set up two parallel systems of community activity. The one—public, supported by taxation and functioning through the government officials. And the other—voluntary, supported by the funds of the Community Chest and functioning through the officials at the head of these organizations.

But Professor Winslow was, at least for a time, somewhat troubled by this situation for he continued:

We have felt that this was a phase of adjustment, a temporary expedient, until we learn to make our governmental machinery to operate efficiently. I am not so sure about this. I have begun to wonder whether in the development of these various interesting forms of voluntary action, we are not making a permanent contribution to the art of community organization, perhaps beginning to form the outlines of a new type of state.

Now this point of view is held by a great many thoughtful American public men and is perhaps particularly common among social workers. It therefore raises an issue of tremendous importance in American public life. Of course, private and voluntary philanthropic effort is not an invention of our age and our country. The significant American feature of the community chest movement is that it is offered not only as a supplement but as a substitute for community action through the duly constituted governmental authority. It has, therefore, not only a positive but also an equally forceful negative message. The philosophy of the community chest says not only, "Here are things that ought to be done and we the citizens, bound together in a free association, shall do them" but also, "We shall do them so well that it will not be necessary for the government to do them"; or, "We can and will do them better than the political machinery."

Now, this is a definite challenge and it should be subjected to test and verification. That it is a constructive challenge cannot be denied. Look in any direction and the positive values created cannot be overlooked. Look at our colleges, universities, museums, libraries, and hospitals. The munificence of the American rich rep-

resents perhaps one of the most interesting and enigmatic aspects of modern materialistic civilization. It is so staggering as to be illogical. "For what is the use," the visitor from Mars would be almost forced to ask, "of working so hard, of fighting so hard to make money, if you are so ready to give it away after you have made it?"

But the well-deserved admiration for the acts of individual generosity must not close our eyes to the obvious truth that there is also the negative effect to be considered. I do not at this time want to raise the very important question whether this individual generosity, often unguided by necessary knowledge and understanding, may not itself be wasted. Think of the large grants, endowments, and foundations that have aroused a chorus of regret rather than admiration because of this lack of wisdom. Perhaps millions for orphan asylums when there are no orphans to require them. Law-suits like the famous Ellis College case in Philadelphia, to break the power of the dead hand over large accumulations of money remaining idle. But let us waive that for the present.

There is, after all, one criterion for any piece of machinery, whether mechanical or social—whether it works and how efficiently it works. Even a Ford car would not be worth very much unless it ran. As a substitute for state machinery so discredited in America, and perhaps frequently with good cause, as a substitute for this machinery, have we provided a better and more efficient one? Does the American community chest movement meet the demands which we may legitimately make of it?

But to answer this question, we must first of all raise and answer a more fundamental one. What is the avowed function of private charity, benevolence, philanthropy, or social work?

The little girl on crutches—the popular emblem of recent years—gives a very specific answer, though it is not a very accurate one. As already said, the community chest appeals primarily to the primitive emotion of pity. The professional campaigner insists upon that, and perhaps rightly so. There is a primitive, strong emotion that keeps our pocketbooks shut, and it takes a stronger one to open them. A community chest campaign is an effort at mass action. And in mass action, elemental emotions are much more powerful

than any intellectual discussions of social problems. And pity deals with individual poverty and misery and distress; primarily with the elemental problem of poverty and its consequence.

And yet the community chest represents all of modern social work. And modern social work has long ceased limiting itself to the problems of individual poverty. Relief of misery is only one of its objectives. The whole purpose is much broader. It may be defined (and of course no definition is easy or accurate) as the sum total of purposeful efforts toward improvement of human life and enlargement of opportunity for happiness and growth.

The degree of achievement of so broad a purpose cannot be easily measured, for there is no definite goal to be reached. But the elemental purpose of relief of economic need is not so obscure. Poverty and misery, whether due to illness or unemployment or low wages or the thousand and one other factors, is after all a condition subject to quantitative measurement. We can watch and record its increase and decrease though as yet we do it very ineffectively, as we can and do watch the fluctuations in wealth and prosperity. We thus possess some sort of objective criterion for judging the efficiency of our voluntary philanthropic methods of dealing with this problem.

How much poverty is there in this, the richest country in the world, the richest in the history of the world as well? How much charity and relief is necessary? How much is asked for? How well is the need met?

Of course, there are no accurate data. We probably know more about the number of poor hogs in this country than the number of poor people. At least, one may have estimates about the hogs. There is a public department to prepare these regularly. There is none to account for the number of poor and dependent. The census does publish some data about the blind, the deaf mutes, the insane, people in almshouses and in prisons, and children in institutions, but that only scratches the surface of the problem. We still do not know for the entire country how many persons are killed by industrial accidents, how many are maimed, how many widows are in distress, how many old people are dependent, how many people suffer because of irregular employment or total unemployment. And so long as we do not know the extent of the problem, it is of course

very difficult to say how efficiently we meet it. In the absence of such accurate information, estimates, guesses, and deductions must be depended upon.

The first question that confronts us is, "How much poverty and dependency sufficiently intense to express itself in application for charitable relief is there in this immensely rich country of ours?" The records of relief agencies give at least some suggestive information. For a year or two the Russell Sage Foundation has been publishing comparative statistics for forty family welfare agencies in twenty-eight cities. For the benefit of the general reader not yet sufficiently initiated in the technical jargon of social work, the term "family welfare agency" must be interpreted. For some years this term has replaced the earlier, more obvious term of "charity organization society." The change is not one of verbiage only. Modern social work is much broader and deeper than charity. It endeavors to deal with the underlying causes of distress, factors of personality, and environment. Family welfare agencies deal with many other situations besides uncomplicated economic distress. Nevertheless, it still remains true that such distress accompanies most of the situations which bring a family into the application room of these agencies. Of course, they do not by any means handle all forms of economic distress in their respective communities. The expenditures for child care, for institutional relief of all kind, for care of homeless men, and the like, are not usually included in their figures.

Now the average man on the street is inclined to think of the family cared for by a social agency as rather an unusual family. Not only among the well-to-do but even among the poor there is considerable feeling about being known as a charity family. It will, therefore, be somewhat of a revelation to find how many families these agencies are forced to care for. These 40 family welfare agencies in 28 cities at any one time are in contact with some 50 to 60 thousand families, representing a population of from 250,000 to 300,000 people—a good-sized city. But even more significant is the fact that during one year (1927) some 100,000 families representing a population of about half a million people applied for help—mostly material help.

Consider what this means. In one year—and 1927 was not a

year of excessive economic distress—100,000 families found themselves in such a position of necessity as to apply to private agencies for relief. This, in 28 cities with a total population of some 22 million! Applying the same proportion to the entire population of the country, one may venture the estimate that in a normal year half a million families—a population of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million—come to grief.

May I venture one more "statistic" of even more startling character. Like every other modern American city, Philadelphia has a Social Service Exchange, which registered in 1928, 51,000 new cases—51,000 families against 16,000 ten years ago. Now one must not assume, of course, that all these cases represent applications for material relief. Medical, recreational institutions, agencies dealing with delinquency, etc., are represented in this number. Yet it is true that families at all comfortably off are seldom represented in the files of an exchange. Every time a family applies for help, be it of a material kind or any other, the agency makes an inquiry of the exchange. In one year, 147,000 such inquiries were made.

You may take either figure you like—51,000 new families applying or 147,000 inquiries reflecting as many applications to various agencies. For a city with 400,000 families, these numbers are enormous. There are districts, I am told, in the "City of Homes and Brotherly Love" in which the number of families registered during the last ten years exceeds the total number of families living in the district. What is the inevitable conclusion? The sum total of demands for help, and to a large extent for material relief, not only is extremely large but shows as yet no sign of abatement. In the life of any one individual family, it may represent an emergency or even a catastrophe. Taking social life as a whole, it represents a very substantial aspect of it, at least in our large cities. Poverty, distress, and misery constitute not only a very serious but a very large problem.

Perhaps ten or twenty years ago, this conclusion would have caused no surprise. The existence of a serious problem of poverty was frankly admitted. Methods of solving this problem were freely and carefully discussed. There was a flood of literature on causes and extent of poverty, on methods of combating it. But recently an entirely new tendency in social thought has developed. Psy-

chologists and psychiatrists have entered the field with a proselyting zeal. To a very large extent they have substituted the concept of personal inadequacy and individual maladjustment for the theory of the responsibility of environment. Social workers enthusiastically adopted this point of view. A new theory of social service has developed as an effort of adjustment and modification of personality. The stream of economic and sociological studies on poverty has disappeared. Another stream, almost a torrent, has taken its place—books, pamphlets, magazines, and leaflets on individual psychology, social psychology, psychiatry and social psychiatry, psychometry, mental testing, mental hygiene, psychoanalysis, child guidance, and what not. The new searchlight of science has all been focused upon the human psyche, upon his conscious, subconscious, and unconscious, his behavior, and above all, upon his methods of adjustment and maladjustment. Specialists of a dozen different brands all concentrate their efforts, their knowledge, their experience, and also their hypotheses and experiments upon him or her, in order to make him or her adjust, and often that means conform.

No sarcasm nor skepticism is implied. The results of this new movement have been wonderful—in spots. But like all fashions, this psychological one may have swung too far. Social workers almost dread to admit that they deal with poverty—only with maladjustment, which, we are glibly told, may just as frequently arise in any economic stratum. When the Charity Organization Society changes its name to a “family welfare society,” its workers cease administering relief; they are working out personality development and try to influence attitudes, change character. All of which is often necessary and sometimes possible. But “nice words butter no parsnips,” and in the words of a homely applicant of Celtic descent, “You take care of my stomach, and I will take care of my own soul.” That, of course, is a very irreverent attitude to modern psychiatry. It ought to be changed. But it is not an unusual attitude of an applicant who seeks relief and is given adjustment instead.

The point I am trying to make, perhaps clumsily, is that poverty is still here and relief is still necessary. The few illustrations I have quoted all refer to an era of undoubted prosperity. It has been an unusual era. One of the most surprising things about it has been

the complacent assurance not only of the successful business man—the darling of the gods—but even of the serious student of economic and social conditions, that this era is bound to continue forever. Data as to the wonderful growth of American wealth, national income, and prosperity are quoted with profusion.

Let us for a moment, then, bask in the sunshine of this prosperity. Even a communist or bolshevik cannot deny the fact that there were, in 1926, 22 million cars in this country and of these, passenger cars were nearly 19 million. It is quite preposterous, but nevertheless true, that the United States with only 8 per cent of the world's population possesses over 80 per cent of the cars in the world. Yes, savings bank deposits not long since exceeded 25 billion dollars, when ten years ago there were only 10 billion of them. In the same decade the assets of the building and loan associations increased from $1\frac{1}{2}$ billion to $5\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars. The annual premium income of life insurance companies increased from less than 800 million to 2,400 million, or threefold, and so on. There is not enough space in the entire issue of this magazine to tell the whole story of American prosperity. But the results of it are not difficult to report. The annual income of the country as computed by the National Bureau of Economic Research increased in the post-war decade from 30 to 90 billion dollars. The value of national wealth was some 186 billion in 1912, 320 billion in 1922, and perhaps exceeds 400 billion now.

The wealth of these United States has increased enormously, miraculously. To the true significance of these figures and some pragmatic deductions from them we shall refer presently. Unfortunately, we have not equally accurate data as to the diffusion of this wealth and income. We know of the growth of enormous fortunes. We know, for instance, that the number of incomes of \$50,000 and over (roughly speaking, the millionaire class) has increased within the short period of seven years from 19,000 to 30,000. We may properly rejoice and take a great deal of pride in the fact that there are 207 individual incomes of one million dollars or over. These figures are quoted with due appreciation of the high professional ability of attorneys and income tax accountants who help prepare the statements required by the government. We have already learned to

speak condescendingly of the owner of one million dollars as a poor man.

But that is one end of the story—the pride of Babbitt and the alarm of the communist and soap-box orator. (The social worker, the reformer, and even the socialist sometimes have learned to accept it and to make the best of it. For the progressive rich man may be taught his social responsibilities.) But what about the other end?

Well, it is only necessary to take a trip to Europe, any part of Europe, whether it be Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Latin, or Slavonic Europe, to be convinced. We have not such poverty as has Europe. They have not so many bathtubs, automobiles, and radios. Granted! But even more than that. There always has been that difference, at least since the Civil War. But the difference has grown and is growing greater all the time. Europe has grown poorer—we have grown richer. Granted again! But what of the economic and social tendencies of the present era?

Some fifteen years ago I dared to make a study of the movement of real wages in the United States, that is, wages measured by their true purchasing value. The results of this investigation, published in 1914 in an economic quarterly¹ but quickly accepted by the economic profession of the entire country, were that from 1890 to 1912, or for a period of nearly a quarter of a century, there had been no increase in American real wages. In fact, there was a slight decrease. Six years later, Professor Paul H. Douglas, the indefatigable, verified my figures, found them substantially correct, and brought them down in 1918 with approximately the same results.² But Professor Douglas, after making a searching study of recent data, came to the conclusion that within the last ten years or so, the average real wages have increased some 20 to 30 per cent.³

This is a factor of tremendous social significance which cannot be overestimated. Many reasons for this rise in the earning capacity and prosperity of the American masses have been given—

¹ "Recent Trend of Real Wages," *American Economic Review*, IV, 793-817.

² Paul H. Douglas and Frances Lamberson, "Movement of Real Wages, 1890-1918," *ibid.*, XI, 409-26.

³ Paul H. Douglas, "Movement of Real Wages and Its Significance," *ibid.*, XVI, sup., 17-53.

of productivity of labor because of increased use of machinery and mechanical power; prohibition of immigration, and the other kind of prohibition, less popular perhaps and less efficiently enforced, but to some degree effective nevertheless; better regularization of American industry and reduction of unemployment; the Federal Reserve System and the elimination of panics; better health conditions; reduction of mortality, and so on.

We are a pragmatic people and are interested primarily in the immediate future. There is no dearth of writing as to that. Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, was reported not long ago to have predicted that poverty in this country would be abolished in 1932. Professor Carver, of Harvard, is certain that this has practically been achieved already through the new industrial revolution which consists primarily in the American wage worker becoming a capitalist through the purchase of stock. And, of course, there is the usual story—automobiles, savings banks, insurance, building and loan associations, and so forth. But then comes the community chest drive with its crippled child and the sorry-faced widow; comes Christmas and “shoes for kiddies”; comes the *New York Times* with the “100 Neediest Cases,” which will not stay within the prescribed maximum number.

It is very annoying. It certainly would interfere with the holiday spirit unless we sent a contribution to the *New York Times* and another to the community chest, if there is one in this city. Or to our “favorite charity.”

At a series of meetings of economists, sociologists, statisticians, social workers, and others during the Christmas holidays of 1927, the delegates from all over the country talked with deep concern of growing unemployment. What an inappropriate subject, at this of all times! Various estimates were made. Some mentioned 4 million as the probable number of unemployed. Of course, nobody knew. Why bother about them in a country overflowing with milk and honey? We do make an annual count or at least an estimate of horses, mules, and swine, and even chickens. (Think of it, counting the number of chickens produced, raised, consumed, and surviving. Nay, even the eggs. Did you know that in one year we produced

1,913,245,000 dozens of eggs, or 22,958,940,000 eggs? I didn't either until I opened the *Statistical Abstract* at the proper page. I shudder to think of my own responsibility for the slaughtering of how many chickens throughout the year. What with all the luncheons, dinners, buffet-suppers, and banquets one has to participate in for the benefit of the maladjusted and the poor.) We count the automobiles registered and the railroad cars loaded, and the imports and exports of sandalwood, and foreign trade with Liberia, and a million other things, and let us hope that we will sometime keep the number of unemployed men and women.

Not knowing exactly, we nevertheless feel the unemployment situation. Every city feels it. Every community talks about it. How many people are unemployed? Why are they unemployed? (Let Republican and Democratic spellbinders stare at each other.) Do they suffer? Are they in need? What must we do about it? What can we do for them? These questions stare us in the face. There is no way of fighting them. Lodging-houses are crowded. Church basements are utilized as flops. Free meals are served. Riots take place before factories that have advertised wanting a boy. We are beginning to admit that there is even in this country a problem of poverty and want and relief.

This is not an article on unemployment, and so we shall not pursue the subject any further, except to say that the unemployment which private relief agencies find it difficult to handle, may remind us of the fact that material relief is still an important social problem to deal with. Whatever the future may bring—and of that we shall speak presently—there are still half a million families applying each year to family welfare societies. There are the applications for placement of children, for the care of the sick and the aged and widows and orphans, and now the unemployed.

Perhaps, on the whole, the problem is growing easier. The condition of the masses is getting better. At least, I hope so sincerely. I am not an adherent of the "worse-better" school of economics. ("It must get worse before it gets better.") But as a practical social worker, I cannot close my eyes either to the existence of misery, poverty, and distress or to the probability of there being misery, poverty, and distress for many years to come.

For consider what are, after all, the main causes or factors of poverty?

Subjectively, illness, chronic invalidity, orphanage, old age, mental deficiency, mental breakdown, emotional instability, crime and delinquency, excessive family obligations, inadequate earning capacity. Objectively, accidental injuries—industrial and otherwise—national catastrophes, industrial depressions with resulting mass unemployment, industrial conflicts, low wage levels, and so on.

Now, honestly, may I ask of my unprejudiced readers who are not professional prosperity howlers, is there any dearth of these problems, these incidents of everyday life? And is there any reason to think that in a few years they will disappear?

Two decades of compensation and industrial safety have hardly made a dent in industrial fatalities and accidents. They have had a hard enough job to overcome the tendency toward an increase in accidents, which is an inevitable consequence of the mechanization of industry. The threat of the machine to human life is illustrated by the automobile, almost as deadly in the long run as war.

The blind, the paralyzed, the mental defective, we still have with us. The mortality from tuberculosis has been rapidly declining—one of the greatest achievements of our age. But cancer is on the increase, and cardiac and kidney diseases even more so. Yes, mortality has decreased, but largely through the saving of babies; reduction of mortality in middle and old age has been nearly nil.

And there are the aged, from 5 to 6 million of them, of whom at least 40 per cent, according to the most optimistic estimates, have accumulated no property and some 35 per cent have no income and most of them are unable to work. And lest we forget, there were in 1925 only 4,500,000 incomes of \$2,000 and over, and nearly 45,000,000 people employed, or ten times as many. Only one out of ten persons thus employed earned \$2,000 or more. And the other nine, less than \$2,000. Of these nine, perhaps eight earned less than \$1,200. So that's that! You can't get any great sense of security out of such facts. And all of this happened during the period of unprecedented prosperity of 1918 to 1928. And for some reason, we have assumed that this era of prosperity will last forever. That the economic crises and industrial depressions will be no more. That we have found a way of preventing them, and we thought so and said so

vociferously, militantly, even scientifically (at least as to terminology) in face of what happened in 1907, in 1914, in 1921, and what is happening in 1928. Surely, the prophetic value of Joseph's dream has been wasted not only upon the children of Israel.

"Behold there came seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt and there shall arise after that seven years of famine. . . ." You know the rest of the story.

So even if we agreed that there is an automatic tendency toward prosperity, it doesn't work without impediments, interruptions, and setbacks. We may be on the road to an economic millennium, but the mills of the economic gods grind slowly, even though we want to believe that they grind exceedingly well.

"But hold on," says the critical reader. "It is no use indulging in such exaggerations, no use laying on the colors so thick. Why disregard the constructive factors in society? You have mentioned even industrial accidents among causes of poverty. You have spoken of widows and orphans. But workmen's compensation has solved the problem of industrial accidents, and mothers' assistance and widows' pension laws are on the way to solve the problem of widowhood and orphanage."

Precisely! As the writer was very active in the formative years of the compensation movement, he is not likely to forget what happened.

The movement developed and grew in the halcyon days of social politics and social legislation in this country. Comparatively rapidly, it overcame the strong opposition, secured an amazing quantity of legislation, and was adopted as a standard of industrial relationships in this country. Nevertheless, after seventeen years (dating the beginning from 1911 when the first effective act, that of New Jersey, was adopted) three states have not yet adopted compensation, and several states joined the procession only within recent years. Practically, in no state does the act cover all wage workers, domestic employees and agricultural laborers being the main exception. In most states, the scale of compensation is so low (notably in Pennsylvania and New Jersey) that the compensation law does not compensate and victims of industrial accidents and their survivors are still forced to apply for charitable aid.

Not a very cheerful picture, to be sure. It has been bluntly

painted so as to save us from indulging in sentimental fancies, as to what may be expected in the near future with regard to the other factors of economic distress. Unfortunately, the socio-political atmosphere of the pre-war era is now lacking. Many a progressive movement has disappeared in the years that intervened. Think of the Child Labor Amendment for one, or of health insurance. After twenty-five years of activity in the advocacy of social insurance, I am not saying this without a great deal of disappointment. It is true that quite recently a few signs of revival may be noticed. Mothers' assistance legislation has been slowly expanding. Old-age insurance and pensions and even unemployment insurance are being discussed, but it would be folly to deceive one's self that a comprehensive program of social insurance, equal to that which exists in Germany, Great Britain, and most European and many Asiatic and South American countries, is likely to come soon.

There is another lesson from the experience of compensation which we must not forget. In the history of labor and social legislation in the United States, workmen's compensation looms very large because it is the one fairly successful application of the principle. In the complete structure of social insurance, which should include health insurance, maternity insurance, invalidity and old-age insurance, survivors' pensions and unemployment insurance, industrial accident compensation occupies only a minor part—scarcely 10 per cent. And yet according to an estimate, which Commissioner Ethelbert Stewart, of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, kindly furnished me, the total payments to injured workmen under these laws in one year—incomplete as they are—amounted to \$182,000,000, exclusive of payments to physicians for medical aid to the injured. In New York state, they amounted to \$32,000,000 in one year. I will ask the reader to remember these amazing figures.

As already explained, they do not represent anything like the full loss sustained by workmen through accidents, for compensation compensates but very imperfectly. They may serve therefore as an indication of the enormous losses sustained through illness, invalidity, unemployment, and so forth. If these other branches of social insurance could be introduced tomorrow all at once (this, after all, is no hallucination, for it has happened just that way in other indus-

trial countries), one may reasonably believe that the volume of application for charitable relief would be rapidly reduced. Probably, it would not be abolished altogether even then. The mentally handicapped, the inefficient, the person staggering under the burden of low wages and large families or both (somehow they do happen together) would still remain. But as this sudden development of social insurance is not to be expected, we may expect that for many years to come, as for many years past, a half million families—more or less—will annually come to grief and ask for relief, especially if they have any reason to hope that there is any chance for relief forthcoming.

Of course, if relief is persistently denied, applications may be effectively reduced. A clever idea that, of reducing poverty in this way, but hardly convincing or satisfying.

I see no reason, therefore, to expect any early reduction in the demand, and certainly not in the need, for charitable relief. But I must go further than that. I am convinced that there will be a continuous, persistent increase in that demand. Certainly during any lean years that may be interjected between years of prosperity; certainly, if there should come a fairly extended period of industrial depression after a series of years of industrial expansion, but even without the influence of these external pressures.

I venture to prophesy that the demand for material relief is bound to increase because of the very prosperity of the nation as a whole. Why? Let us reason this out. Actual starvation can be measured in absolute physical terms. Proper feeding requires a minimum of calories. Freezing may be prevented by a minimum of temperature. The necessary amount of coal may be computed in tons. Outside clothing must be provided to preserve the body temperature. But poverty and misery are both relative terms. The American poor of 1928 cannot be expected to measure their wants by conditions either in Russia or even in Colonial times in our own country. Though the poor do not ride in automobiles, they can see them. If the poor do not swell materially the sum total of retail sales, they cannot be prevented from observing the show-window displays of the department stores. Poverty can only be measured by the discrepancy between the family's actual resources and the

expected standards of wholesome living. And as prosperity necessarily raises this standard, it must also raise the cost of relieving the poor, must also raise the demand for assistance to the needy.

Will you object to this as evidence of pauperization of the poor? Will you insist that this tendency must be overcome; that these demands must be resisted? Of course, you really do not think so at all. Do you think the standard of a municipal hospital for the poor should remain what it was fifty years ago, or do you as a responsible citizen take pride in a well-appointed hospital, applying all the modern hospital standards second to none? Having administered a chain of hospitals in the Orient, I know the difference and I know that after we had cut our American hospital standards there below the minimum we were still accused of extravagance by the local British colonial administration. And what standards would you apply to a modern old folks' home or an infant asylum or a child-caring institution? Recently I shocked a German professor of economics by telling him that our agency allowed the working-girls in our assisted families to wear silk stockings and took their cost into consideration in planning the family's budget. Modern relief agencies necessarily apply a standard of relief which nearly approaches a normal standard of American living—allowing for a minimum of health and decency and even comfort. And these standards necessarily rise, and thus relief agencies are forced to demand larger appropriations for this more generous standard of relief, to demand these larger appropriations even in face of this amazing prosperity of ours, much to the disgust of the average contributor to charitable funds, who fails to understand this causal connection between prosperity and the increased cost of relief.

And thus we come to the very pragmatic question which really constitutes the central theme of this discussion: Does the present machinery possess power to meet the situation?

We are dealing with a serious social problem. That is quite obvious, of course. In Europe, the recognition of a grave social problem invariably leads to some action through the organized political machinery or at least to consideration of such action. The benighted European has the stupid notion that that is what the state—what the political machinery—is for. We, in this country, are more inclined

to think of non-governmental, semipublic, or private action. We have rationalized this attitude. I have already quoted Professor Winslow's subtle justification.

It is not only the comparative honesty but the comparative efficiency of the private machinery that is assumed in this justification. A wayward or neglected or mentally defective child is brought before the Children's Court. He is committed to a private agency for care. A hungry man in search of a job staggers into the office of a municipal welfare department. He is probably told, "The City can do nothing for you. Here is the address of a private relief agency." Thus, the organized state assumes that the machinery of private relief is working efficiently and satisfactorily, that the necessary resources are available. And this assurance is growing, apparently with justice. The distribution of Christmas cheer, of sporadic almsgiving, is only an incident. Out of individual assistance came the relief society. Out of that, the scientific charity organization society. And then the family welfare society with professional workers, records, files, and standards of relief and service, and emphasis upon preventive and reconstructive effort. In lieu of charity bazaars and dances and church plates has come the community chest movement, with auditors and budget committees and quotas and the whole machinery of this secondary, voluntary government and cheerful self-taxation.

And the faith in this new efficient method, even among professional workers, has grown to be so great that in their enthusiasm many of them have fought against any extension of state and public activities in this field. Many a prominent social worker in New York City has by now successfully forgotten the regrettable part taken in the organized opposition to widows' pensions in 1914! That opposition was based upon the assumption that private charity could and did meet the problem; that private charity had funds for this work and could continue to do it more effectively; and that a system of governmental grants was bound to be dishonest, demoralizing, and ineffective as well as unnecessary.

Well, we all make mistakes. And some of us have courage enough to admit it. Personally, I am rather satisfied that I could not at the time be persuaded to join in this opposition.

For a moment let us disregard the comparative efficiency of methods. Does the community chest, does the financial basis of private charity in general offer the necessary resources?

"Sixty million dollars in a live man's chest, yo ho," was the exultant cry of the brilliant editor of the *Survey* on the cover of the November, 1927, issue, devoted to a symposium on community chests. Now 60 million dollars sounds like a respectable sum, to be sure. Mr. William J. Norton, executive director of the Detroit Community Chest and a former president of the National Conference of Social Work, who contributed to the *Survey* symposium, said:

Ten years ago contributions to the community chest in the United States and Canada totaled 23 million dollars. This year they are 64 million dollars. That might indicate a phenomenal growth, but as a matter of fact, the increase in the total is largely due to the creation of new chests, not more generous contributions to old chests. In those ten years, the number of chests has increased from 14 to 297.

Is 60 million dollars a generous amount? Community chests in most cities endeavor to embrace all philanthropic and social agencies. In many cities they do. Catholic and Jewish agencies, as well as "non-sectarian" or Protestant ones. These agencies cover relief and family welfare work, child welfare, home placements, and child-caring institutions, old people's homes, hospitals and dispensaries, convalescent homes, visiting nurse societies, many Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, playground associations, settlements, Big Brother and Big Sister societies, schools of social work, housing reform associations, research bureaus, and so on. Of course, these 64 million dollars do not represent a total budget of all the agencies in all the 297 chests. In addition, there are payments for services, particularly in hospitals, contributions from city and state treasuries, revenues from endowments, and so forth. But the figure does represent the voluntary contribution of the public, the extent of voluntary self-taxation.

Obviously, only a small proportion of the total amount goes for outdoor relief to needy families. Surely, not more than 20 per cent. How far can that amount go to meet the existing need? The visible demand for relief?

What an insignificant amount in comparison with the resources

made available by the state! Compare this 64 million dollars with 182 million for accident compensation alone. The widows' and orphans' allowance legislation is comparatively recent and has not yet covered the whole country. In Pennsylvania alone, mothers' assistance expenditures have reached some 3 million a year; in New York, over 6 million.

Perhaps we are dealing here with only a modest beginning of a rapidly growing system of private beneficence. That seems to be the prevailing opinion. "Public acceptance of social work," says Mr. Norton, "has come rather suddenly. With it comes an enormously large support." Unfortunately the figures do not justify this optimism. Says Allen T. Burns in the same issue of the *Survey*, "Reports from 146 community chests show that they have raised only seven-tenths of 1 per cent more for 1927 than for 1926. Records of 68 chests for five years—1923 to 1927—showed that increases were on a declining scale." During these five years, the total collection for these 68 chests increased from \$29,667,000 to \$35,338,000, an increase of less than 20 per cent, or about 5 per cent per annum. But while 1924 produced 7.6 per cent more than 1923, 1927 exceeded the preceding year by only 1.3 per cent.

In other words, community chests if they have not become static may at any time encounter the limitations of self-taxation. We have reached the saturation point in voluntary giving. "Retrenchment is necessary" is the cry that arises not only among large contributors and community chest executives but also among social workers in general. Surely, not a wholesome attitude for planning social progress.

Compare this with legislative action. Compensation payments in New York state alone increased from 10 million dollars in 1916 to 30 million dollars in 1926; in Pennsylvania, from some 6 million dollars to 10 million in the same period. Mothers' assistance payments in Pennsylvania in 1916 were \$200,000 and, in 1927, 3 million. In New York state, the political and economic atmosphere was not favorable to social legislation; nevertheless, compensation legislation once introduced is being rapidly extended and improved, though every such amendment means an increase of cost.

Suppose that we draw a comparison that strikes nearer home.

Already our political organization, our cities, and municipalities, devote certain sums to the broad field of social welfare. While in most cities this is limited to administration and institutions, nevertheless, effective experiments in outdoor poor relief are not unknown. Total expenditures for welfare in cities of more than 30,000 population in 1926 amounted to 100 million dollars. Ten years ago the amount was less than 40 million dollars, an increase of 150 per cent in a decade. State governments spend annually for charities, hospitals, and corrections about 170 million dollars. In other words, the total volume of voluntary contributions to charities, corrections, public welfare, and social work shrinks into insignificance by comparison.

I think it will be admitted that viewed from this angle as a method of getting together the financial resources necessary for relief, the efficiency of the community chest—and by implication of the broader philanthropic motive—has been greatly overestimated. Surely, the much larger funds spent by the municipalities, states, and the nation are collected with much less expenditure of effort and excitement. And that leads us to the consideration not only of the force of the private philanthropic motive but also of the efficiency of this modern machinery—the community chest.

The stimulus of pity is emotionally a powerful one. But the trouble with every emotional stimulus is that the effect is not lasting. Continuous restimulation becomes necessary. Moreover, tolerance of these emotional stimuli is soon developed. Stronger doses are required. New forms of stimulation must be introduced. Hence, the complicated structure of campaign publicity. Hence, all that hullabaloo that parades under the term of educating the community. In organized governmental action, calmer consideration is at least possible. But what is more important, a rule of action, once determined, must continue. Charity drives must be repeated *de novo* each year. Contributions are as frequently reduced as increased.

The advent of the community chest to combine financial efforts of independent philanthropic organizations (agencies in technical terminology) has been hailed as a great step forward in the organization of voluntary community effort for public purposes. Undoubtedly, it has had many salutary effects. It has eliminated some

waste, some duplication. It has prevented a good deal of fraud parading under the colors of philanthropy and social service. It has created a certain measure of public control by responsible authority, usually the chamber of commerce. It has saved the wealthy contributor from the petty annoyance of multiple solicitations. It has saved the "drive worker" an enormous amount of effort. On the financial side, it has at least for a time resulted in an increase of contributions. It has accomplished all this in at least two ways. First, because it throws a certain amount of publicity upon the amounts given by people of means and thus makes them more conscious of their responsibilities. And it has to some extent tapped new sources of giving by emphasizing the broad community purposes of organized philanthropy.

In the face of all these advantages, it is not at all surprising that the popularity of the community chest principle grew, that it was hailed as the ideal method of accomplishing and financing social work, as a method vastly superior to a governmental policy of public welfare. Only recently has the social service profession begun to question the degree of eventual efficiency of the community chest. This growing skepticism has undoubtedly been stimulated by the lack of power for further growth which the community chests have displayed, but the basis of the skepticism is even deeper than that.

If the community chest is superior to the private philanthropic agency even as the philanthropic agency is superior to individual almsgiving, something was lost as well as gained in this process of organization. The private philanthropist in his relation to the individual beneficiary was moved by a degree of personal interest and sympathy and sometimes even sacrifice, which the member of a philanthropic agency could not always be expected to feel toward every client of such agency. Professional social workers recognize that, but argue that the emotional reaction to the beneficiaries' problem often may do more harm than good.

But the private philanthropic organization has a direct interest in a problem, in a situation, in a group or class of sufferers. This private interest creates a proselyting spirit. It has been sponsored by the movement of the altruistic effort in a certain direction. For

this reason, private philanthropic or reform organizations usually show a tendency or at least a desire to grow.

The community chest, more remote from the actual work, responsible for finances and budgets, wary of deficits, necessarily takes a more detached, impersonal point of view. The enthusiasm of the reformer, the altruism of the benevolent individual, the professional zeal of the trained social worker is here substituted by the icy and business-like efficiency of the professional bookkeeper and accountant. Enthusiasm of the professional campaign manager—bought and paid for on a commission basis—offers only a poor substitute. The result is often a wet-blanketing of all proposals for extension of work, for more experiments, for more generous standards of relief and social work. The community chest, therefore, presents the very same objections that made the pioneer in scientific social work fear the intrusion of the mechanical, impersonal, governmental machinery into his very human profession. It presents the same disadvantages as does the governmental machinery, but lacks the main advantage—the power of raising the necessary funds. Voluntary self-taxation is picturesque, but infinitely less effective than the official tax collector.

To be sure, the movement toward community chests has been a factor of great educational value. It was an admission that philanthropy and social work were not fads for individuals and small groups to play with, but a community liability; that public provision for individual misery was more than a gratuity; that it was an obligation of the community as well as a right of the individual needing assistance. And the more obvious, the more generally accepted this point of view becomes, the more clearly does the logic of the situation point toward the organized state as the proper machinery.

Thus, a three-cornered conflict necessarily arises between the community chest, the individual agency, and the applicant for aid—a conflict that may not become so obvious when social work of a more general character is concerned. A single benevolent individual may refuse an individual request for relief, with the simple suggestion that the needy person apply elsewhere. (Note the classic Russian formula in refusing a beggar—"God will give.")

Even a philanthropic agency may honestly say, "Our funds are

limited; some other agency may be in a better position to help you." But what can the community chest say when it fails to furnish the necessary funds? It has no other source to which to refer the applicant. It has assumed the responsibility; it acts for the entire community. When it fails, the community has failed. Yet it has no way to compel the community to do its duty.

This is by no means an abstract speculation as to what may happen. It is what actually happens in most, if not all, the approximately 300 community chest cities. As the demand for material relief presses upon the philanthropic society, the latter presents the demand for larger budgets to the community chest. The community chest, lacking the funds, must refuse the demand. The agency has only one of three steps to choose from. It must refuse help to applicants ("to limit its intake") or reduce the standards of relief ("to spread relief thin") or create deficits. The third solution brings the wrath of the bookkeepers, accountants, auditors, and directors of the community chest upon the constituent society and has been responsible for many bitter conflicts. And either one of the first two, besides being a frank admission of failure of both the agency and the community chest, brings down the wrath of the community upon the chest for this very admission. The individual contributor necessarily argues: "By your solicitation of my combined contribution, you have promised to take care of the problem of poverty and misery, and relieve me of any further concern. If you refuse and the poor and the needy are forced to apply to me and to others like me, what justification is there for your campaign promise?" And, of course, having purchased by his contribution this immunity from individual appeals, the individual contributor who now can afford to become very generous at the community's expense, waxes virtuously indignant but he has no political machinery to blame and to hold responsible.

All this occurs in normal times. In times of great economic distress the situation is greatly aggravated. Demand for material aid increases at the very time when subscriptions are likely to fall short and collections even more so. And no matter how great the need, there is no machinery available for enforcing communal responsibility, the fundamental principle of the community chest. Frantic

appeals are then made to the constituted governmental authority, the municipality, or state to come to the rescue of private agencies. The boast of the voluntary, non-governmental communal organization that it is better able to do the work because of the freedom from political restraint, breaks down at the first serious test. We thus see a complete *reductio ad absurdum*. In moments of stress, such as this, it is the inefficient political machinery that has the power (though it sometimes lacks the will) of making emergency appropriations, making loans, issuing bonds if necessary. The city fathers do not always assume this responsibility, to be sure. But the explanation for their failure to do so is a sense of freedom from responsibility, fostered by the very existence of the non-governmental community organization.

In short, the community chest is an admission that the general community responsibility for prevention and relief of poverty exists. But once this responsibility is recognized, it is the organized political authority that has the power to carry it out. Thus, we have a basis for a most interesting problem in speculative philosophy as to which of the two pieces of social machinery is preferable—the one with the power and no desire, and the other with desire but no power.

The conclusion that the relief of distress is a definite governmental function does seem to go contrary to conventional American political and social philosophy. But curiously enough, it is not at all contrary to American practices. While the professor of social science may shudder at the very suggestion of outdoor relief, many Americans were actually indulging in this vice without any deleterious effect upon their political and moral constitutions.

According to the Census Bureau report on *Financial Statistics of Cities* for 1926, the total expenditures for charities, hospitals, and corrections in 250 cities with a population of more than 30,000 amounted to 96 million dollars. Of this amount, 36 million dollars went for charitable relief, including maintenance of institutions, care of children, and outdoor poor relief. The latter, the *bête noir* of social economists and economic sociologists, claimed nearly 12 million dollars. Not an extravagant amount, to be sure, considering that the population of these 250 cities was nearly 42 million.

Contrary to American political theory, we find that a great ma-

majority of American cities do grant outdoor poor relief besides the traditional support of institutions and societies for dependent children. In fact, 87 per cent of the cities did so. But the extent of use made of this method is very uneven. Massachusetts stands out signally. The 26 cities in this state granted \$3,317,000, or \$1.25 per capita. Outside of that state, the application of the method appears somewhat sporadic, almost accidental; at least it is very difficult to furnish one general explanation. New York City, Bridgeport, Buffalo, Rochester, Newark, in the Atlantic states, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Cincinnati in the Middle West; Los Angeles on the Pacific Coast: what is the general denominator that explains the greater development of outdoor relief in these few cities? Why St. Louis and not Kansas City; why Detroit and not Cleveland; Los Angeles and not San Francisco; Rochester, and not Syracuse? Frankly, we give it up. It would require a very painstaking investigation to answer this question and perhaps the inducement of a Ph.D. to make that investigation.

This much is certain, however. Whenever a policy of outdoor poor relief has been definitely adopted by the city, conditions of poor relief are very much more satisfactory, for the necessary funds are more readily available. Here is Detroit, for instance. Its Public Welfare Department in the year 1926 distributed \$1,040,000, while the two largest private family case work agencies in the neighboring city of Cleveland, almost of the same size, did not exceed \$275,000, or about one-fourth of that amount. Furthermore, when the closing of the Ford shops created an increased demand for relief, the Detroit Public Welfare Department was able to increase the monthly relief expenditures from \$70,000 to \$150,000, \$200,000, and even \$250,000 a month. Under a similar stress, most private and family relief agencies either refuse new cases or reduce the average amount given, far below any minimum standard of living cost.

Now, of course, there are objections to public outdoor relief, and these are glibly enumerated whenever the subject is brought up in any city where no such public system exists. These objections are usually standardized and hoary with age. The old English argument of decreasing the wage level by granting subsidies to wages has lost much of its popularity. This wage business is so compli-

cated, the factors influencing it so many, that it takes a great deal of courage to figure out in advance what the effect of any social measure upon the wage level would be. But two objections are still being raised by the man on the street.

One is the inevitable demoralization of the poor through a system of doles—a pauperization of the poor.

The dole has almost become a bogey of American popular literature. The fear of the dole system is, of course, based upon British experience. It is amazing how familiar the average American newspaper reader considers himself with economic and social conditions of the British Isles of the past, present, and future, and particularly with the nature and extent and effects of the dole system. If the Rotarian or the Kiwanian wants to record his objections to public relief for fear of an increase in the tax rate, he does not have to argue the point. All he has to do is to wave his hand eloquently eastward and exclaim, "Look what the dole system has done to Great Britain."

Well, suppose we do give a look at the British Isles. What has the dole system (which in popular understanding includes all the gigantic structure of social insurance against sickness, old age, invalidity, unemployment, as well as extra grants—doles—because of the unusual unemployment situation), what has it all done to the British people? Among other things, it has saved them from a catastrophic breakdown of all standards of health and decent living, an economic crisis such as the English people have not suffered for a century. Incidentally, it has also saved them from a social revolution. It is true it has taken a few hundred million dollars to accomplish this. But is it the financial cost that scares us, that makes the so-called dole system appear as a horrible example? Oh no! We argue that a system of mass poor relief must bring with it pauperization and demoralization. It is strange, however, that notwithstanding this demoralizing influence, England's record for immorality and crime is not worse than ours, to say the least.

But, after all, why look so far to England? Why not profit by the experience nearer home? It is yet to be proved that there is greater demoralization in Boston or Detroit or Buffalo or in the

smaller cities of Massachusetts than in Baltimore, Philadelphia, St. Louis, or Chicago.

Of course, being an experienced social worker, I cannot entirely deny the dangerous possibilities that lurk in a system of indiscriminate relief-giving. But what reason is there to assume that this effect must be more deadly in case of public than private relief? Surely, there is as much, if not more, sentimentality in the relation between the private benevolent individual and the recipient as there is in a somewhat impersonal public agency. Even an efficient family relief agency cannot always escape the very same danger. The remedy we have learned to apply is competent and careful social work accompanying this giving of relief.

"Ah, but there is the rub," says the the opponent of public relief; "competent and careful social work cannot be expected from a politically managed public agency." The inefficiency of any governmental undertaking is an assumption which no decent American citizen considers it necessary to prove. He takes it for granted. Far be it from me to deny that there is a wealth of experience to justify this assumption in many states and municipalities. Having come from Philadelphia to New York, I hesitate to make any invidious comparisons. And even if I had the necessary courage, I doubt whether I could honestly express any preferences.

But, after all, the argument can be overdone. The application of poor relief through the governmental and even political machinery does perhaps offer opportunity for dishonesty and incompetence, but so does any other governmental function and to a larger degree. If we are not quite ready to abolish our state and municipal governmental machinery and to farm out all the work to private corporations, surely the public works, erection of public buildings, paving and cleaning of streets, and supervision of public utilities offers an opportunity for a very much richer harvest than the amount assigned for relief of widows, orphans, sick, crippled, and unemployed. Remember the biblical saying that "there is honor even among thieves." On the whole, the corruption and inefficiency charged against public welfare departments is infinitesimal as compared with many other public departments.

And this is not an abstract consideration only. There is a great

appeal in the sort of things the public welfare departments are doing or ought to do for honest, self-sacrificing, unpaid work. In no other part of American governmental machinery has this principle of unpaid work reached such development and shown such good results. The administration of mothers' assistance funds in many states when left to appointed unpaid boards has been signally efficient and free from corruption. They offer a splendid illustration of what can be accomplished by a combination of public policy with private humanitarian zeal.

Perhaps the most important issue remains, at least what is put forward as the most important issue and the greatest obstacle. Can we afford it? And that raises the question of the probable cost.

Now I confess it is a little difficult for me to keep a straight face when the question is asked in all seriousness, "Can we afford an efficient, comprehensive system of relief of the needy out of the public funds?" However, as it is being asked, a serious consideration becomes imperative. So, first, a few words as to cost.

Of course, no exact figures are to be had or, in the very nature of things, can be had. But for a reasonable estimate, some basis does exist.

It is generally recognized by all relief workers that the Jewish communities in the larger cities have met the problem of outdoor relief fairly generously. At least much more generously in proportion to the existing needs and to the existing demand than have other parts of our municipal communities. That does not mean that the Jewish relief agency will respond to every application for material aid with a subsidy. Modern methods of case work require sifting of applications in accordance not with their worth but with the need and availability of other resources. In no important Jewish community is the applicant for relief refused because of lack of funds. Not in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, or similar cities. It has been definitely established that a scale of relief for Jewish agencies is higher. Comparative figures indicate an average grant of from \$40 to \$50 a month for each needy family by Jewish agencies, as \$20 to \$25 by non-sectarian agencies. And the budgets of Jewish communities for relief purposes average about \$1 to \$2 per capita, according to the size of the community.

That means that a community of 200,000 will spend for assistance to needy families (outside of the cost of maintenance of children or old people in institutions or cost of hospitals, etc.) from \$200,000 to \$400,000 a year, at least in normal times. That amount is spent over and above such grants as the law provides out of public funds as, for instance, compensation, widows' pensions, orders on the city or county for the maintenance of children, and so forth.

If that amount may be assumed for the country at large, then it means that the total amount of public relief involved is anywhere from \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000. If only the urban population is taken into consideration, then the amount would be only from \$60,000,000 to \$120,000,000. Let us take the expenditures of private philanthropy into consideration. From \$5 to \$6 per capita is probably a liberal allowance for communities at large. Even that is not a very startling sum for the population of American cities. From \$60,000,000 to \$100,000,000 for outdoor relief in American cities—perhaps \$200,000,000 for social work in general. "Can we afford it?" Can we seriously ask the question?

"Can we afford to allow the poor to go unrelieved?" would be a question more to the point. What proportion does this necessary amount bear to the volume of production or to our national income? Perhaps one-tenth, perhaps one-fifth of 1 per cent. What proportion to our estimated wealth of \$400,000,000,000? Perhaps one-fortieth of 1 per cent. How does it compare with the estimated amount of losses from crime? How with the amount of the bill for automobiles, good roads, movies, ice cream soda or chewing gum? Can a people who invest 2 billion dollars each year in foreign securities afford a liberal system of poor relief? A people who add to their total national wealth at the rate of 20 billion dollars per annum; a people who have an annual controversy about reduction of taxes.

Of course, it is not the national, perhaps not the state government, but the municipalities that will have to pay the largest part of the bill. And our cities, many of them, are bankrupt or almost so, or would be if they were held to sound corporation finance. Well, are they, and why? It is unnecessary to go in here for a technical discussion of municipal taxation and finance, but obviously the city

can afford what the community can afford; what the community is willing to pay for.

That means taxation? Of course, it means taxation. It means that somebody must pay. And the taxpayer and industry immediately rise in rebellion. But there is nothing new in that, is there?

Can you mention one decent legislative proposal for betterment of social conditions that did not have this difficulty to face? Have we forgotten the stubborn opposition to compensation legislation for many years? And to all efforts to grant a decent living scale of compensation? How many threats there were that all the factories in New York would move to New Jersey because the New York compensation scale was twice as generous as the one prevailing in New Jersey or Pennsylvania! But when all this fear of compensation blew over, can anyone now seriously assert that New York or Massachusetts or California or Wisconsin has suffered for having more generous compensation acts than New Jersey or Connecticut, or Pennsylvania or Illinois? Has any city been ruined by making generous mothers' assistance expenditures? Are the municipal finances of Boston or New York or Detroit, which are more cognizant of their responsibility for poor relief, are they worse than those of Philadelphia or Pittsburgh? There are many other ways of injuring city or state finances. But surely, the richest country in the history of the world cannot raise the issue that it cannot afford to spend the necessary amount to eliminate destitution, poverty, and distress.

Why, then, have we failed to do so? Why do we now resist suggestions to that effect? Largely, it is the fear of the unknown, stimulated by dishonest or, at best, biased propaganda. Particularly a childish faith in the superiority in the established way of doing things. But, after all, these are factors that can be overcome. The taxpayer may be gradually educated not to grow panicky at every slight addition to his tax. The citizen may be gradually educated away from the fear that every extension of the principle of social responsibility is a threat of immediate nationalization of all private wealth. All this can be gradually accomplished if there are no equal or more powerful forces working in opposition.

Perhaps the solicitude of the taxpayer for his tax rate cannot be

destroyed altogether. There is, however, another opposition that often develops, creating another obstacle altogether unnecessary. And that sometimes arises within the social work profession itself. The sort of opposition that may put the writer into a group of renegades for having written this article and having advocated this change. Opposition to the entrance of the state into the field hitherto occupied by private philanthropy is not limited to the taxpayer. Mistrust of the honesty and efficiency of the governmental machinery is often shared by the social worker. As he views palpably the ineffective partisan appointments in the welfare departments, it is not difficult for him to arrive at the same philosophy at which Professor Winslow has arrived. He is naturally alarmed at the entrance, of the state as a competitor for fear that it would destroy the significant achievements of scientific social work. Hence, for instance, that opposition of prominent social workers of New York City to the widows' pension movement twelve years ago, which many of us are trying so hard to forget. Hence the surprising indifference of the rank and file of the professional social workers to such proposals as old-age pensions.

Is there any reason for the fear? Would a generous governmental policy have a dampening effect upon the spirit of social work? Does, as a matter of fact, the development of social work depend upon the relief and almsgiving? Will social insurance or similar social legislation, which reduces the volume of applications for relief, destroy social work? The social workers themselves will violently resent the implication.

It is the pride of the profession that it has substituted treatment for almsgiving and readjustment for relief; that prophylaxis is replacing mere symptomatic therapy. Particularly modern social case work, with its emphasis upon the psychologic and psychiatric approach, upon the necessity of influencing personality and behavior, recognizes that the grant of material aid is only a very crude beginning in that process, and that the identification of the same worker in the function of relieving and educating is even detrimental to the latter. Real reconstructive social work has little to lose from dissociation from the purely financial aspects of relief.

Moreover, as far as the very business of outdoor relief requires,

as it undoubtedly does, the application of scientific methods of case work, there is a field for social work technique in the field of public welfare no less than in private charity organizations. The task of educating mayors, city fathers, and department heads to an appreciation of this may not always be an easy one. But neither is the similar task of educating the boards of directors of the thousands of private agencies. The progress of scientific social work is not a path strewn with roses. Nevertheless, there has been a successful development in this direction and presidents, boards, and the community at large have been educated. And perhaps American social workers may be heartened by the experience in Germany. Though social work has arisen there much more recently, it has already acquired a much more dignified standing because it is closely connected with the policy of public welfare.

In so far as social work represents an expression of a communal desire for a better, deeper, happier human life, the spontaneous efforts of individuals and groups to develop new ways of life, new experiments, new approaches to old problems, or to the new problems created by the ever increasing complexity of our social organization must not be discouraged, of course. Such experimentation must be free from the necessary regulation and standardization of governmental effort. This, therefore, remains properly the field of private social work. But the problem of relief is simple, and the problem of appropriation of funds for the admitted social needs is a simple standardized business. And only when the profession of social work will free itself from the burden of the laborious methods of fund collecting—but thinly disguised under the high-sounding phrases of publicity and community organization—only then will the profession of social work come into its own, only then will the public learn to differentiate between the highly trained social worker and the mere solicitor of private contributions. The change may not be an easy one to accomplish, but one may hope that it will come.

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CASE WORK RESPONSIBILITY OF JUVENILE COURTS¹

THE juvenile court as an institution is thirty years old. Probation is older. We have now passed the stage of enthusiastic and even extravagant statements of what such courts will be able to accomplish and are subjecting them to a searching examination of what they are doing or perhaps more accurately what they are not doing. This is undoubtedly a great disappointment to many. Changing from the discussion of the wisdom of a plan to actually making it work is always hard. The enthusiasm of very few remains for the hard, slow, uphill administrative work which never ends, since institutions that live must change to meet changing conditions. That enthusiasm, so useful in the legislative period, has, let us hope, been transferred to the next social reform which is in what might be called the propaganda stage while we are holding those who are really interested in the slow development of the possibilities of the court.

The subject assigned me implies that I am perhaps going to defend or deny the statement that the juvenile courts can be expected to do case work with children. This would raise the very fundamental question as to whether we were or were not on the right track when we insisted that in so far as the courts deal with delinquent children their cases should be tried by specially organized tribunals, which would have as their objective, cure, not punishment. It seems to me unnecessary to support the soundness of the general conclusion which was reached thirty years ago. It would be like trying to argue whether the public school can really teach children. We have today a quite different conception of what case work for delinquent children should be than we had before any social case work had been done with delinquents, before any scientific study had been given to the subject of juvenile delinquency. There have been fundamental changes in recent years in our whole conception of education. For

¹ An address delivered at the National Conference of Social Work, San Francisco, June, 1929.

example, Dr. Groves points out that "increasingly our schools are not merely the guardian of past culture but the medium through which social achievement is made possible." The juvenile court must then be enabled to function so as to meet advancing standards of what constitutes case work for children who must be brought before the court just as the schools must meet the new conception of the educational needs of children.

I should like to make my subject a consideration of the difficulties the juvenile court faces in maintaining a high standard of case work. But as an introduction to my very brief remarks on this subject I want first to acknowledge our indebtedness to law and legal thinking in the development of social case work as we know it today. You will all recall, I am sure, how heavily Miss Richmond drew on legal conceptions in Part I of *Social Diagnosis*, which she called "social evidence." This indebtedness to law like most indebtedness that is incurred has not been an unmixed blessing. Legal conceptions may be a hindrance to us in developing a better understanding of social relationships. However, it is only one so young that he is without experience who is not put to the necessity of deciding whether to discard or to accept what he once believed to be truth. All scientists must make this choice not once but over and over again.

As social workers we have used the rules of legal evidence in establishing facts, and in common with the legal profession we are under the necessity of developing the capacity to analyze a problem with which we are confronted and utilize intelligently the services of experts in various and unrelated fields. Our task is at once more difficult and easier than the lawyer's. We must take into consideration more constantly than he social relationships rather than individual rights. On the other hand we can without any hesitation direct our efforts to determining what is in the interest of the general welfare rather than the welfare of an individual client, and we are not bound to follow precedents as the lawyer and judge are, although here too we are not entirely free.

When the juvenile courts undertook the task of preventing delinquency what were some of the handicaps with which they began? They were, of course, part of a system of our legal organization which was founded on the idea that justice required treating every-

one who had committed the same offense in the same way, and that punishment was the means of deterring or preventing crime. As one after another of the old types of punishment had been abandoned, the only punishments that remained were fine and imprisonment. Probation was giving the offender another chance before punishment was decided upon. The facts in the case were theoretically fully developed for the court by opposing counsel, and the judge decided wholly on the evidence before him. The safeguards with which the accused were surrounded were to prevent an innocent man from being punished.

Dean Pound has pointed out that the great problem of the law is that of maintaining a balance between the need of stability, with which our conception of justice is involved, and the need for adjustment to changing conditions. The juvenile court was handicapped, therefore, from the social work standpoint because it was a court bound by the traditions that have developed through the centuries. But this weakness is the reason why it must be made to function in accordance with our developing standards of what is in the interest of children. It is in other words a judicial agency and has the authority that only the courts possess.

Has any real progress been made by the juvenile court? Anyone of us could present evidence which would indicate that there had been very little if any progress in the last thirty years. For example, sentencing a child six years of age to fifteen years in a reformatory, which the papers tell us is a Kentucky judge's decision of what will promote the interests of society, is more harsh than the old common law. While we ought to keep steadily in mind the legal crimes which are still being committed against children, it would be as unfair to measure the progress that has been made only by these conspicuous failures, as to consider in our judgment of a health program only those counties in which the educational work has been so well done that the death-rate has been greatly reduced.

At the Interracial Conference which met in Washington this winter, it seemed to me that I had a sense of how far we had traveled. The old conception of justice is that the same kind of evidence shall always be admitted or excluded, as the case may be, in determining both action and intent, and that each offender shall receive exactly

the same treatment for the same act with the same intent. It was, of course, generally agreed that measured by this standard the Negro did not get justice in most of our courts. These would not be tests by which we would measure whether Negro children were being fairly treated in our juvenile courts. In the juvenile courts children are all treated alike only when they are all treated differently. The question is not what should be done for particular types of offense but for individual children.

Negro children are being treated the same as white children if their cases are as carefully studied by social investigator and psychiatrist, as are those of other children, if a proportionate number of probation officers equally well trained are assigned to their supervision, and if equally good institutional or foster-home care is available for those who must be removed from their own homes. Of course, measured by this standard of justice, it is probably not frequently available to the delinquent Negro child. My thesis is, however, the changed conception of what constitutes justice for children. This conception is very slowly influencing opinion as to what constitutes justice for adults, and we shall probably not have the new justice available for all children who are brought before the courts until the general public is prepared to believe that a more scientific treatment of the adult offender constitutes justice.

In our early thinking about the court we were helped by the conception of the state as a father in dealing with the children who had developed conduct problems. Statutes frequently provide that the juvenile-court judge is to proceed as a "wise" father would in his decision as to what should be done. I suppose the "father" idea was emphasized because, however modest he might be about his knowledge of what the children should be fed or how they should be taught, the father usually thought he did know how to make them behave, and discipline, particularly that requiring on occasion a strong right arm, was reserved for him. This conception of a "wise father" is of little assistance to us now. Today we are saying that if punishment is to be administered it must not be delayed—its value is proportionate to its promptness. Moreover, the father's usefulness in child-training—which we now know is much more important than it was sometimes held to be—is reduced by this specialization

in punishment. The state acts as a "wise" father in providing adequate schools and playgrounds; when it comes to dealing with delinquency a different conception is needed. The "wise" father or mother does not know what to do with serious conduct problems. The most that we can expect is that by their joint intelligence and affectionate understanding they will be able to put into practice the general principles of child-training which will help to prevent the development of conduct problems. When abnormal conditions develop the wise parent will secure the help of the specialist just as he calls in the doctor when the child has a fever.

The juvenile court is one of the community agencies that is responsible for the prevention of delinquency. It is only one. While it does not always reflect our present knowledge of what is the best social practice, the other agencies probably fail even more seriously when their opportunity for prevention is taken into account. The analogy of eliminating disease and promoting health in children seems to me a helpful one in this connection. The children's court, let us say, corresponds to the children's hospital. You will remember only a few years ago the intolerable situation that we faced every summer: thousands of babies sick and dying, hospitals overcrowded, temporary buildings and tents full, nurses and doctors fearfully overworked in an effort to keep babies from dying of diarrhea or some other disease that originated in improper feeding. Building wings to hospitals and increasing the medical and nursing staff was of little help—the babies still died by the thousands. In most communities this situation has been completely changed. Popular literature and clubs and classes, where the mother has learned the general principles of infant and child care, and the well-baby clinics and children's health conferences, where she has learned from the doctor how these general principles must be modified to meet the needs of her own children, have almost completely eliminated this cause of death in many communities. We are teaching positive health in preschool centers and in schools, as well as attempting to make sure that for the smaller number who do become ill we are making available the most intelligent kind of care that medical science can provide. One of the greatest helps in our thinking has been the discovery that well

children are usually not really well and their efficiency can be very greatly increased by more intelligent care in the home and in school.

I am sure I do not need to point out the analogy between the hospital and the juvenile court. We now know that delinquency in some form is practically universal among children. They do not instinctively know even that private property is private property. This and most of the other misunderstandings on which our living together is based must be slowly and in my own case painfully learned. If then in preventing delinquency, our reliance is on the juvenile court alone or even primarily, we shall certainly continue to fail in preventing the kinds of delinquency that are easily preventable. The training of parents and of teachers and the provision of habit and child-guidance clinics where parent and teacher can get the help they need from the specialist in conduct problems are absolutely fundamental. The children now are handed over to the court when the home and the school have failed to cure conduct difficulties. I should speak more accurately if I said after they have contributed to the development of conduct problems in children because in the home and the school are so frequently found the cause of the child's delinquencies. In many of the children brought to the courts the disease of delinquency is so advanced that cure is impossible. Some of them, with our present knowledge of this field, could not have been cured if the specialist had been called much earlier but many of them, how many of them we do not know, are curable.

The court is the place where the services of specialists in diagnosis and resources for treatment should be found since it alone has the authority to remove children from home and school if such treatment is indicated by a careful study of the case. That it is not so equipped, I do not need to say.

The conception of a specialist in the conduct problems of children is a new one, and these specialists are the first to admit that their knowledge is still very limited. They have the beginnings of a science and a technique. The research of the last few years in methods of diagnosis and treatment have greatly increased our knowledge on this subject. The opportunities for clinical study that the so-called "habit clinics" and "child-guidance clinics" and the psychiatric clinics attached to courts have made possible have been of

enormous value. We shall, however, know vastly more about human behavior and the relation of physical and social causes to conduct problems in the future than we do today. However, that is not a reason for not using in full the knowledge that we now have—on the contrary it makes its full utilization even more important.

I do not need to say that it is not being fully utilized by our courts today. What is wrong? Most courts do not have the services of a psychiatrist or the number of psychiatrists necessary for a careful study of the boys and girls who are being brought to them as having manifested conduct problems too serious or too difficult for the home or the school or the children's agency to handle. Not more than ten or twelve juvenile courts in the country have their own psychiatric clinics. Many others utilize community child-guidance or mental-hygiene clinics, but these are usually able to accept only a limited number of juvenile-court cases. In the District of Columbia two psychiatrists and two psychologists who are full-time members of the staffs of local hospitals each give half a day a week of volunteer service to the juvenile court, which deals with over 1,700 official juvenile delinquency cases yearly. The Children's Bureau has recently published a list prepared by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene of psychiatric clinics for children in the United States, and a glance at it shows that there are whole states in which such clinics are nowhere available. In those very states often there are no psychiatrists or psychologists specializing in the conduct problems of children. There are not in the United States today enough such psychiatrists or psychologists to serve the juvenile courts adequately if they all devoted themselves to this work exclusively. Most judges are therefore without the help of this type of specialists in conduct problems.

For the investigation that enables the judge to decide what treatment should be given the children and for supervision and help in the adjustment of the family, school, and community problems that contribute to their delinquency he has frequently an untrained staff, whose members are appointed for political service or because they are widows or are for some other reason in need of a job; or if their appointment is the result of an honest desire to obtain the best officers available, the salaries paid are often inadequate to attract

and hold well-trained persons. Probation is often merely a stepping-stone to a more remunerative occupation. The number of probation officers is wholly inadequate. But merely increasing the number of probation units will not solve the problem. The public must recognize that the treatment which the court is intended to give can be carried on only by men and women fitted by personality, education, and experience for the work, who are selected on the basis of merit only, and given systematic, well-planned direction by a chief probation officer or other supervisor.

For some judges the court is a political opportunity; some have such confidence in the power of their own personality to correct fundamental physical, social, and emotional problems that they think they can by a talk with a child and his parents solve all the problems that are presented. Such judges find that all they need is a few people to send on errands for them. As a matter of fact, this treatment is frequently adequate for many of the cases that come before courts dealing with children and young people, and it is these successes which are remembered. For example, Steve Lozinsky, aged seventeen, was arrested for stealing an automobile and placed on probation for six months. He made a good record while on probation and at the expiration of nearly two years had got into no further difficulty. Concerning his court experience he said:

It was the best thing that ever happened to me. I wish it had happened a lot sooner. Just to go down once a month and go to all that trouble and explain all about what you were doing was enough to make any boy who has an average mind stop and think before he goes on and gets into more trouble. Probation did me more good than all the lecturing I had had given me all my life.

Clement Dunne, on the other hand, nineteen years of age, arrested for a similar offense and placed on probation for one year, considered his court experience the worst thing that could have happened to him. Although his home conditions were far from desirable and he was badly in need of vocational help, only routine methods of probation were used, and the probation officer evidently had no insight into the boy's problems. "I have never been able to look at anybody since then," Clement said. "They gave me a coarse, hard-boiled fellow for a probation officer, who wanted to keep me scared half to death." Continually nagged by his family and reminded of the dis-

grace of his court experience, he lost his job because of his arrest, and then drifting from one job to another, he finally attempted suicide.

Some judges use what are, for our present stage of development, pretty adequate resources for investigation and diagnosis merely as window dressing. Carefully prepared reports of social investigations and the recommendations of a psychiatrist are sometimes found in the records of the court but not utilized in treatment. On the other hand, there are judges who are intelligently utilizing all the resources for scientific work available to them and are taking the lead in developing additional facilities.

Finally in the list of difficulties that the court faces—perhaps most discouraging of all—social workers are responsible or share the responsibility for adding to courts already inadequately equipped to handle children's cases, jurisdiction over a number of related problems, such as dependency, non-support, divorce, and offenses committed by adults against children. Socialized treatment of these cases is desirable, but in our plans for providing such treatment we often ignore the necessity of making sure that adequate standards of work for children will not be lowered by these increased responsibilities.

To return to the question, "Can the courts do social case work?" Perhaps I ought to say—Will they be allowed to? And to that question the only reply we can make seems to me to be that they must be enabled to. We shall not take from the parents their right over the children without a judicial determination as to whether in fact the evidence presented by the experts justifies this course. Such a decision is treatment requiring the most careful investigation. Should the courts do the case work for all delinquent children? Obviously not. The home and the school can be made much more efficient in training the child than they now are, and the advice of experts should be available to parents and teachers before it is considered necessary to utilize the court. We shall have to make judges, as well as teachers, parents, and social workers, much more intelligent as to the prevention and treatment of conduct problems. We need to put into practice what is now known, while at the same time our field of knowledge should be continually expanded by research

and clinical observation. With a scientific viewpoint about conduct problems and their prevention we can hope to secure agencies that will educate parents in scientific methods of child-training and assist them in dealing with the early conduct problems of children, to enable the school to prevent creating conduct problems, and to assist the home in meeting those that do develop, and to provide the court, the hospital to which serious cases of delinquency must eventually be brought, with the trained personnel and adequate resources for diagnosis and treatment.

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TWO PRACTICAL IDEALISTS

DECADES are often like individuals as to the whimsy which rules their reputations. An occasional lucky one comes in for an early and perhaps unearned reward. Mute, inglorious ones defy the efforts of the most persistent historian to make articulate anything that is worth articulating. Picturesque and chaotic ones are sometimes revealed by distance in extraordinary and significant design. The American 1890's is such a one.

In its own day it was *fin de siècle* and nothing more. It was a jejune youth coming of age. It was relinquishing Little Lord Fauntleroy for Mr. Dooley, substituting *The Philistine* for the *Youth's Companion*, sharing Baudelaire's enthusiasm for Poe, rediscovering Whitman and repudiating the New England Olympians, being extremely modern with Monet and Manet, talking art for art's sake in the early evening, and in the later stages of conviviality singing "Tarara Boom de Ay" and "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." It was playing "Tiddledewinks" and "Pigs in Clover," and for the most part was unaware of what was happening beneath the surface of its own postadolescence.

In these latter days, on the other hand, it has been revaluated with more than compensating seriousness, subjected to every sort of test and measurement, invested with portentous implications. F. J. Turner has put the body politic through a physical examination, and by demonstrating the importance of the frontier in American history has shown that with 1890 the country could no longer sing the nursery ditty, "When I grow to be a man, I want to be six feet tall," had no more inches to add, must face the limitations of manhood. Following Turner's lead, critics, historians, novelists have been swarming to the frontier as their forebears swarmed into Oklahoma in 1889. It has become the center of a new boom, with substituted frontiers of the mind and the spirit, with the frontier formula so reapplied as to account for the city gangster in terms of the Klondike.

In the library, sated with *Roughing It*, with *Tales of the Pacific Slope*, with the attenuating series of the Middle Border, even with

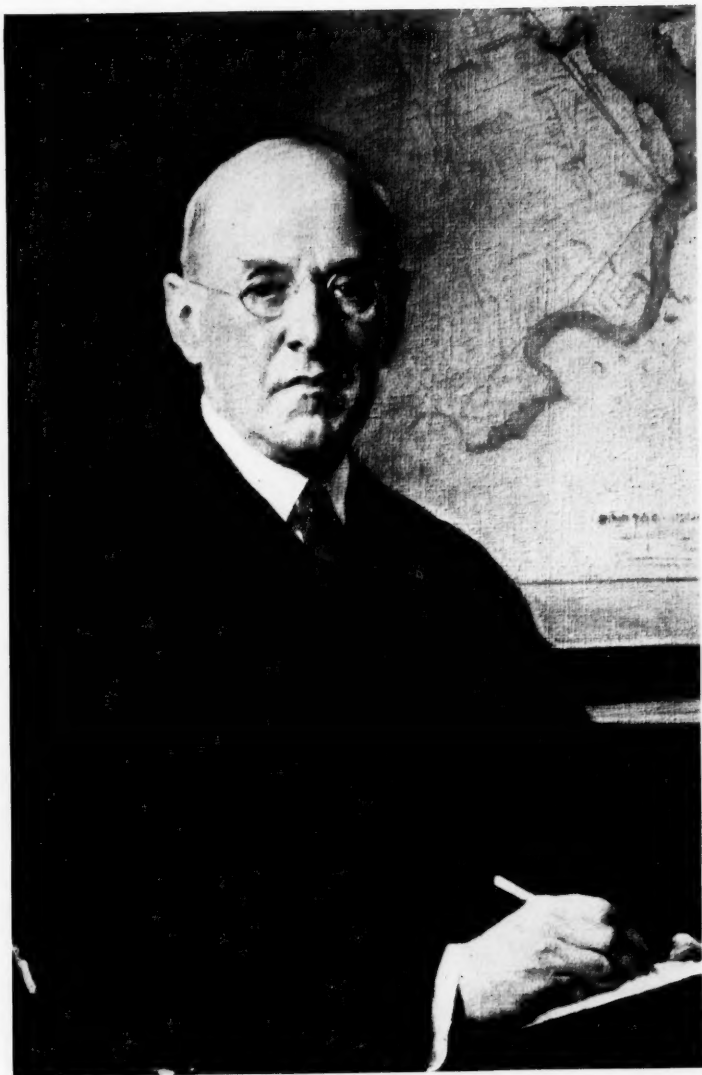
the saga of "Billy the Kid," the reader is asked to recall that in the nineties Howells passed under the influence of Tolstoi, and, putting life above art, led the way for all the more or less successful novelistic expositors of the industrial America that John Hay had so signally failed to cope with in his anonymous *Breadwinners* of 1884. He is reminded that in the late nineties Stephen Crane and Frank Norris saw the slum and the toiler; that Winston Churchill began his long pageant of chronicles which led up to the political corruption that he could deal with more effectively in print than in New Hampshire politics; that shortly after, a dozen others from Poole to Page established the novel formula of young nobody-from-nowhere who applies himself to his books in college and a dozen years later as an industrial Messiah makes a sadder and wiser man of the snobling who has scorned him on the campus. He may remember for himself that in these years Moody was writing *Gloucester Moors* and *The Brute* and that Frost and Masters and Robinson and Dreiser and Hergesheimer were busily composing what the country was still content to ignore.

In short this present post-war decade, conscious of itself and its own prophetic possibilities, takes great unction to its soul that it can also see so clearly what the nineties failed to see. It detects the fallacy in Thomas Beers's title "The Mauve Decade"—"just pink trying to be purple"—in its recognition that it was really purple seeping through the pink. It has thus come to a pass where the present is so iterative in its reinterpretation of that decade that the critic who recoils from critical fads, stays away from it almost as scrupulously as he stays off the frontier.

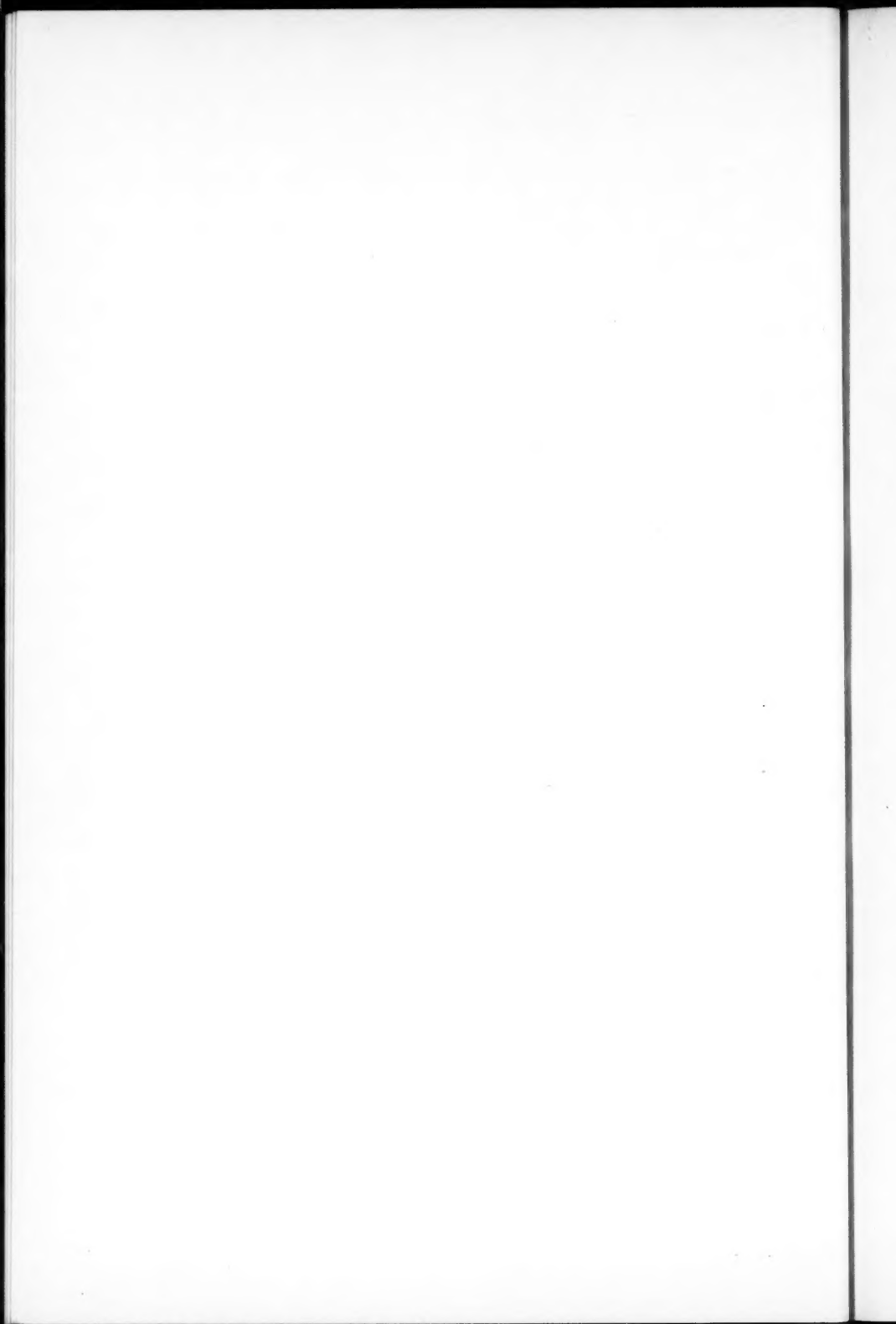
Yet now and then the temptation is irresistible to make one more excursion, as, for example, on the appearance of the lives of Mary E. McDowell and Robert A. Woods.¹ For the careers of these two leaders of modern social work represent the fruitage of a period of which the nineties displayed only the ephemeral blooms. Both were born and bred on the banks of the Ohio, one before the Civil War, the

¹Howard E. Wilson, *Mary E. McDowell, Neighbor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 235. \$3.00.

Eleanor H. Woods, *Robert A. Woods, Champion of Democracy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. Pp. 376. \$5.00.



ROBERT A. WOODS
1865-1925



other just at its close. Both were allied, as one would expect them to be, with nonconformist Protestantism. Both came to maturity as the century was drawing to its close. Both were startled at some of the things they saw, both sought for reasons, both looked for remedies. Both joined a movement which made them both neighbors and both champions of democracy. And the coincidence arose from common influences working on like characters.

The United States of the 1890's was in the situation of an army that has been making a rapid advance over a wide front. It was the necessity for consolidating the position, as the militarists phrase it, that thrust home to Robert Woods and Mary McDowell, Jane Addams and Graham Taylor, a consciousness of circumstances that, on people of their temper, could serve only as a motivation for life-long action. A country which had surrendered to manifest destiny, inscribed "In God we trust" on its silver currency, and stayed away from the polls, was suddenly confronted with the discovery that even one short century can accomplish a good deal in the way of accumulating social error.

A hitherto invulnerable faith in democracy could no longer blink the fact that in America as in Europe this world's goods were not equably distributed. The country as a whole did not hear one traitor to his class when he declared of the "idle rich":

We are not politicians nor public thinkers; we are the rich; we own America; we got it, God knows how, but we intend to keep it if we can by throwing all the tremendous weight of our support, our influence, our money, our political connections, our purchased senators, our hungry congressmen, our public-speaking demagogues into the scale against any legislature, any political platform, any presidential campaign that threatens the integrity of our estate.

It did not even hear the confessions of Woodrow Wilson, William H. Taft, and Elihu Root to the same effect. But the rising group of social philosophers did not need to be told. They were facing the grim fact.

Similarly the country which for a hundred years had been welcoming refugees from intolerable Old World conditions paid no attention to immigration statistics, nor to the varied possibilities of admitting aliens at the rate of a million a year, so fast there was no hope of assimilating them, no chance, even, of preparing them to cope

with the exploiters who battered on their helplessness. Mary McDowell did not need to be enlightened "back of the Yards" in Chicago, nor Robert Woods in a Boston which sheltered, for better or for worse, three hundred fifty aliens for every thousand in the population.

And a vast community which had been complacently certain of its own welfare all through the slow evolution of the municipal boss and the fine technical development of the political city machine, assumed still that gentlemen should be excused from participation in city politics and that all women should be excluded from politics of any kind.

The situation was a distinctively American one. History had supplied all its elements, but never in past nor present in the same proportions, nor with the same further complicating factors. Neither in the past nor in the present could there be cited so great a challenge to so great a democratic venture. It was an American problem; if it could be met at all, it could be met only through its appeal to American traits embodied in effective American men and women. Social service did not, of course, supply the whole solution, nor is social service unique to the United States or even original in it. Nevertheless the leaders in social service were and are typical of the best of America in their characteristics.

Introspection, whether personal or national, does not always lead to sound conclusions, and almost never to simple ones. The observations of friendly critics from overseas are often both sound and simple. Two recent illuminating commentaries on America by French observers, André Siegfried and Bernard Faÿ, agree on the most salient of American characteristics: moralistic rigor, abounding energy, and fervor of sentiment. As a control on all of these may fairly be added a trait that America shares with the modern world: a feeling for scientific technology that applies itself increasingly to social life as well as to material things.

They are the striking attributes of leaders like Robert Woods and Mary McDowell, who so repeatedly overcame enormous obstacles through steadfast sympathy converted into intelligent persistence. And it was a natural consequence of their combined intelligence and sympathy that though they approached the problem as neighbors they evolved into prophets, and that starting as individuals they

supplied the impulse to a broad humanitarian movement. The very list of affectionate nicknames acquired all unconsciously by Miss McDowell carries with it a record of various campaigns she has waged in behalf of her neighborhood, but with results that reached far beyond it.

"Back of the yards" is where she has lived and thrived since she first moved there a generation ago. "Fighting Mary" was earned in her successful effort to enlist congressional support under President Roosevelt for the first national survey of the economic conditions of women—a survey enabled by an appropriation of \$300,000. "The Garbage Lady" came as the flattering reward of her success in freeing her region from an indeterminate fate as the city's dump heap, and in leading the way for Chicago in the scientific disposal of garbage. "The Social Politician" is what she became as an effective and constructive commissioner of public welfare under Mayor Dever. "The Duchess of Bubbly Creek" is a title that unfortunately still applies, though that foul ditch is not quite so offensive as in the olden days when she began her agitation against it.

But the service of Miss McDowell and her fellow-workers in all settlement undertakings was educative as well as agitative. The neighbors themselves were in need of all sorts of elementary training: how to feed babies, how to cook a meal, how to speak English, how to make themselves articulate through organization, how to secure help if help was needed, medical, legal, or economic. The social class from which the settlement residents were recruited needed enlightenment as to the living and working conditions of the immigrant poor. And the community was in need of a vast deal of education as to its functions and its obligations. The concrete work which is done by the settlements today is slight indeed in comparison with the undertakings which the settlements proved to be necessary and then handed on to co-operative social welfare and municipal agencies. Infant welfare work, juvenile protection, legal aid, school and community playground direction, civic training make just the beginning of such a list.

In practical effectiveness Robert Woods shares honors with Mary McDowell. Yet as between them it was his distinction to lay emphasis on the social philosophy to which they both subscribed. It was natural that this should be so, for as an Amherst student he had

fallen under the spell of a pre-eminent teacher, Charles E. Garman, and had followed this experience with study at the Andover Theological Seminary and a prolonged visit with the Toynbee Hall group. Furthermore in choosing an abandoned residential district in Boston he faced an immediate situation quite different from that in the outlying wilderness of Chicago.

He was continually stressing the intellectual approach, but never forgetting the humanitarian. He might have taken his text from Emerson: "Solitude is impracticable, and society fatal. We must keep our head in the one and our hands in the other. The conditions are met, if we keep our independence, yet do not lose our sympathy. These wonderful horses need to be driven by fine hands." And he followed it better than its propounder, who confessed that for him practical effort was dissipation.

As for the knowledge which is the base of wisdom let Mr. Woods speak for himself and his fellow-workers:

We are beginning to see that those who have the opportunity to go to the bottom of the social scale and look upward toward the top have a clearer insight into the larger relations in which society stands.

The social worker

. . . must have the historic sense and the philosophical breadth of view. . . . He must come not only with a zeal for service, but with that eager, inquiring mind through which he shall be led into varied and constantly developing knowledge and power.

The escape from

. . . dilettantism, on the one side, and asceticism on the other, . . . is not in fervent efforts based on a priori conclusions, but in patient, experimental action, guided by an acquaintance with the facts that is both extended and minute.

Yet this scientist was also the man of sentiment who "sees in every human life what rouses in him living interests, honest admiration, something worthy of companionship, of laughter, of tears." He must love men, but deeper than all he must love humanity. "One of the surest ways of devising peace and freedom for the world is through an ever spreading contagion of neighborliness." Though the author of *The Social Horizon* was more explicitly a philosopher than the "Duchess of Bubbly Creek" he was no more of a fact-finder in his attack on specific problems. It was the accident that he did not share a local field with a Harriet Vittum, a Graham Taylor, and a Jane Addams that granted him a completer local pre-eminence.

But his occupation with philosophy was not a preoccupation. He was eminently practical. He led the way in the development of a system of municipal baths, promoted corrective legislation in the "bar and bottle" campaign, was a member of a committee of the Massachusetts Civic League on drunkenness and of another in the state Conference of Charities and Corrections on tramps. He was chairman of the Foxboro Hospital for Dipsomaniacs, a member of the governor's special Commission on Unemployment, of the Central Labor Union Relief Committee, of the state Licensing Board, of a dozen other directive bodies. And he was an indefatigable and invincible beggar for South End House. Among the recognitions of his expertness his lectureship at Harvard paralleled that of Miss McDowell's at the University of Chicago.

The social workers of this generation faced the responsibilities of pioneers in any field. Two of their duties are not shared in any such degree by their successors: that of developing a technique while they were carrying on the work, and that—to use a current Americanism—of "selling" the settlement idea to the public. An inevitable consequence of this was that the headship of a settlement called on each of them not only to perform a job but also to occupy a platform. And this double duty was complicated by the fact that the resources for settlement work, modest as they are, could not be derived from settlement neighborhoods. Often it occurred that the presentation of settlement conditions was an indictment of prosperity. This offered a dilemma; but, though, as Mr. Woods once said, the operation of a settlement was a continual compromise, there was never a compromise at this point. Sometimes wealth has been estranged, sometimes it has been as candid in admitting conditions as it has been generous in compensatory contributions.

In the meantime the "settlement horizon" is shifting. What the new day will bring will be a part of the changing fabric of society that is making in the loom of time. But the loom is still under inspection and perhaps is coming under control. And this is a development in which these two workers who emerged from the chaos of the nineties have played no small part.

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NEW YORK'S NEW PUBLIC WELFARE LAW

A THREE-YEAR campaign in New York State has resulted in the repeal of the obsolete Poor Law and in the enactment of a modern Public Welfare Law governing public administration of relief. The new law is particularly significant for its establishment of a broad public responsibility for relief and service and for its clear statement of the social-welfare objectives of public relief.

To evaluate such a new social-welfare law, it is helpful to inquire: first, to what extent it accomplishes the objectives desired by its proponents; and, second, to what extent the campaign for its enactment has resulted in interest and support of the new law by the general public and by the officials who will be responsible for its enforcement.

While both the State Department of Social Welfare and the State Association of County Superintendents of the Poor have participated actively in the campaign, especially during the last two years, the State Charities Aid Association, a private organization, has been largely responsible for the form and content of the law, for the management of the campaign, and for the general publicity. The degree of success in obtaining the desired objectives can be measured fairly objectively by a comparison of the provisions of the new law with the objectives formulated by the State Charities Aid Association Special Committee on the Revision of the Poor Law when it started its work. The extent to which the campaign resulted in public support is more difficult to determine objectively. The evaluation given is the result of very close study of the situation.

In order to answer the question, What is accomplished by the new Public Welfare Law? it should be said that the State Charities Aid Association Committee on the Revision of the Poor Law came to the conclusion that there were three main objectives to be accomplished by a revision of the Poor Law: (1) an improved legal form; (2) a clear statement of the social objectives of public relief; (3) a larger unit of administration of public relief.

As to legal form, the committee's objective was a simply worded and easily understood statute, uniform in application to the whole state.

The New York Poor Law was an archaic statute, which through frequent amendment had become so confused and incoherent that it was frequently necessary to read the whole statute to discover whether or not a particular point had been dealt with. It was so far from clear that it had to be interpreted by a large number of court decisions and rulings of the attorney-general's office. To complicate the situation still further, there were some 130 special laws relating to particular towns and counties, some of them dating back as far as 1778.

On the other hand, the new Public Welfare Law is simple in language and coherently arranged. It is believed that it will be easy to understand, though as yet it has not had the test of use to determine whether its provisions are clear. Its terminology is modern. The titles of the officials have been changed from county superintendent of the poor and town or city overseer of the poor to county commissioner of public welfare, town or city public welfare officer. The almshouse becomes the city or county home. The Poor Law and all but five of the special laws relating to the care of the poor in towns and counties have been repealed. The Public Welfare Law is uniform in application to practically the whole state, as the five special laws not repealed are progressive and in sympathy with the spirit and intent of the new law.

As to social objectives, the committee's purpose may be said to have been to write into a new statute a clear statement of the social objectives of public relief and to establish public responsibility not merely for the provision of care in an almshouse as a guaranty against complete destitution, but for the provision of the type of care best suited to relieve distress and prevent dependency.

Public responsibility for relief under the Poor Law was limited to "poor persons," i.e., "those unable to maintain themselves." The Poor Law provided for care in an almshouse, with relief in the home treated as a temporary expedient in cases in which "the person so applying requires only temporary relief or is sick, lame or otherwise disabled so he cannot be conveniently removed to the county alms-

house." Its most progressive provision was the negative one forbidding the care of children in almshouses and county jails, on which the whole system of child care in New York State has been based.

The Poor Law official, turning to the Poor Law for instructions as to his duties, found only negative provisions aimed to prevent certain abuses and no clear statement as to his responsibilities or the method of carrying on his work. The scope of poor relief was so limited that officials frequently found themselves limited by law to dealing only with cases of actual and complete destitution. Under the Poor Law, preventive work for cases not actually destitute was considered by most officials as outside of their range of responsibility.

The Public Welfare Law, however, is based on the principle that "a person in need of relief and care which he is unable to provide for himself, shall be relieved and cared for at the expense of the public welfare district or the State." While the whole statute is based on public responsibility for the type of care best suited to the individual's need, its spirit and intent can perhaps best be illustrated by quotations from Article IX on "Relief and Service":

SECTION 77. *Care to be given.* It shall be the duty of public welfare officials, insofar as funds are available for that purpose, to provide adequately for those unable to maintain themselves. They shall, whenever possible, administer such care and treatment as may restore such persons to a condition of self-support, and shall further give such service to those liable to become destitute as may prevent the necessity of their becoming public charges.

As far as possible families shall be kept together, and they shall not be separated for reasons of poverty alone. Whenever practicable, relief and service shall be given a poor person in his own home; the commissioner of public welfare may, however, in his discretion, provide relief and care in a boarding home, the home of a relative, a public or private home or institution, or in a hospital.

SECTION 78. *Investigation.* Whenever a public welfare official receives an application for relief, or is informed that a person is in need of care, an investigation and record shall be made of the circumstances of such person. The object of such investigation shall be to ascertain the settlement of such person, the name, age, the religious faith, physical condition, earnings, or other income, and ability for labor of all members of the family, the cause of the present condition, the ability and willingness of the family, relatives, friends and church to assist, and such other facts as may be helpful in determining the treatment which will be most helpful to such person. If it shall appear that such person is in immediate need, temporary relief shall be granted pending completion of the investigation.

SECTION 79. *Supervision.* When relief is granted to a person in his own home, or in any place outside of an institution, such person shall be visited once a month, or as often as necessary, in order that any care or service tending to restore such person to a condition of self-support and to relieve his distress may be rendered and in order that relief may be given only as long as necessary for this purpose. Persons receiving care in an institution shall be visited as often as may be necessary in order that any service or care needed by them shall be provided and in order that institutional care shall be given only as long as it is advantageous for the person's welfare. The circumstances of a person receiving continued care or relief shall be reinvestigated at least once each year.

SECTION 80. *Co-operation of public welfare officials.* It shall be the duty of every public welfare official to render assistance and co-operation within his jurisdictional powers to children's courts, boards of child welfare and all other governmental agencies concerned with the welfare of persons under his jurisdiction. Every public welfare official shall also co-operate whenever possible with any private agency whose object is the relief and care of persons in need or the improvement of social conditions in order that there may be no duplication of relief and that the work of agencies both public and private may be united in an effort to relieve distress and prevent dependency.

These statements as to the purposes of the public relief and the methods to be used are, it is believed, the most comprehensive found in any state law. They establish a case-work basis for public relief and place on the public welfare official responsibility for preventive work. The law also deals exhaustively with the methods to be used in caring for children, the sick, and the inmates of the public homes. It will serve as a manual for the public welfare officials in carrying out their duties.

On the subject of the problem of the administrative system it may be pointed out that the committee's objective was a unit of administration sufficiently large to ensure adequate administration of public relief.

Under the Poor Law, the primary responsibility for administration and payment of all types of relief rested on the towns and on the cities, which were considered towns of the county as far as poor relief was concerned. The responsibility of the county was limited to administration of the almshouse and administration of and payment for relief of persons who had no legal settlement in any town or city in the county.

Under the Poor Law, the administrative officials were from one

to three elected superintendents of the poor in each county, one or two elected overseers of the poor in each town, and the city official or board elected or appointed in the city in accordance with the provisions of the city's charter to care for the poor. The Poor Law was very vague as to the relation of the town and city overseers of the poor to the county superintendent of the poor. The relationship found in the various counties was based as much on custom as on law, and, as a rule, the county official had little control over the overseers. This system, placing primary responsibility on the towns and cities, had been considerably modified by the power of the Board of Supervisors to make relief for persons under sixteen or over sixteen, or both, a county charge. While the Poor Law gave the Board of Supervisors no power to change the administrative responsibilities of the elected town overseers of the poor, the county usually had some degree of administrative control over the cases for which it paid. The practice, however, varied considerably from county to county, and as both town and city overseers of the poor had the power of commitment, it was not unusual for them to exercise it without notice to the county superintendent of the poor, even when the county paid for the care of the persons they committed.

The Public Welfare Law's provisions as to the administrative system are partly mandatory and partly permissive. The *mandatory* provisions establish an administrative system considerably more centralized than under the Poor Law. Under the *permissive* provisions of the new law, it is possible to make the county the unit of administration.

The *mandatory* provisions make each county a unit of administration which includes all the towns and cities situated in it, with the exception that four cities having their own almshouses are made independent units of administration, having the same responsibility for relief as a county.

The responsibility of the towns is limited to the administration of and payment for relief and medical care given at home to persons residing and having a settlement in the town, exclusive, however, of defective and physically handicapped children and children born out of wedlock, who are a county responsibility in all cases.

The cities have the same responsibilities as the towns and also

provide hospital care for the same group of cases. A city may also exercise any additional powers given it by its charter.

The county is responsible for all relief other than that definitely assigned to the towns and cities. All relief administered by the county is a county charge unless the Board of Supervisors directs that certain forms of relief shall be charged back in the taxes levied on the town or city of the person's settlement.

The administrative official of a county is an elected county commissioner of public welfare; of the town, one town public welfare officer appointed by the Town Board or the town supervisor acting as such official. In the city, the official is elected or appointed, according to the provisions of the city charter. The relationship of the town and city official to the county commissioner is clearly defined.

Under the *permissive* features of the law, the County Board of Supervisors may make all relief administered by the towns and cities a county charge to be administered by the county commissioner. In such case, the Town Board no longer appoints a town public welfare officer, and the county commissioner has complete responsibility for administration in the town. The county commissioner assumes responsibility for administration in a city only if the action of the Board of Supervisors is confirmed by the City Council. The city may, if it so desires, continue to administer and pay for its own relief.

The mandatory provision of the Public Welfare Law, making the town official an appointive instead of an elective officer, makes possible, without further state legislation, a system of administration by the county which is complete in so far as the towns are concerned and can include any city that is willing to give up its independent administration of relief.

While the mandatory provisions of the Public Welfare Law accomplish only in part the centralization of administration desired by the State Charities Aid Association Committee, they make a really substantial improvement over the Poor Law. Experience in the legislature during the three years when public welfare bills were pending made it clear that it was not possible to secure a mandatory law establishing the county as the unit of administration. All opposition to the bills centered on the provisions removing power from the

towns and cities and placing it in the county. The State Charities Aid Association Committee therefore came to the conclusion that the centralization accomplished by the mandatory provisions of the Public Welfare Law and the extension of county responsibility possible under the permissive provisions were as great changes in the direction of a larger administrative unit as could be secured at this time.

The effort to secure the Public Welfare Law has resulted in very general public interest in the subject of better administration of public relief. This is in a great part due to the educational publicity carried on by the State Charities Aid Association during the last three years. The State Association of County Superintendents of the Poor, having participated in the campaign for the new law and having unanimously indorsed the bill which was passed, has accepted the new law as the result of its own activity. The recent convention of this organization was devoted to a discussion of the new law and its significance to relief officials. That the officials feel that the law is their own, not something that has been forced on them, is also largely due to the policies adopted by the State Charities Aid Association in working for a new law.

The influence which the activity of the State Charities Aid Association has had on the form and content of the new law and the attitude of the officials and the general public toward it can best be shown by a brief account of the campaign for the new law. The first move for the revision of the Poor Law was made by the legislature, which in 1924 appointed a commissioner to make a compilation of the laws relating to the poor. The work of the commissioner was subsequently continued by the 1925 and 1926 legislatures, and its scope enlarged to include a revision of the Poor Law.

In 1925 the State Charities Aid Association appointed a Special Committee on the Revision of the Poor Law, which, after carefully formulating its objectives, endeavored by working with the legislative commissioner to secure its desired results through the bill to be drafted by him. Unfortunately, the commissioner decided that any proposal to concentrate more administrative responsibility in the county would result in opposition in the legislature. His bill, introduced in 1927, was, in the main, a codification of the existing laws

relating to the poor and made almost no substantive changes. As this bill was supported by the State Association of County Superintendents of the Poor, its passage seemed certain, unless radical steps were taken to oppose it. The State Charities Aid Association feared that the passage of such a bill would delay a real revision of the law for many years and therefore drafted and secured the introduction of a comprehensive public welfare bill, proposing administration by the county and stating the social welfare objectives of public relief. The State Charities Aid Association bill received much favorable comment for its simplicity and clarity. The extensive publicity which the State Charities Aid Association gave to the need of a comprehensive revision of the Poor Law resulted in enough support for the State Charities Aid Association bill to prevent the passage of the reactionary one.

If the State Charities Aid Association had not been in position to draft a good bill, to secure its introduction by an influential legislator, and, through extensive publicity, to secure public support for it, the reactionary public welfare bill drafted by the legislative commissioner would undoubtedly have been passed by the 1927 legislature. An unfortunate but unavoidable result of the association's action was resentment against the association on the part of a number of the Poor Law officials who had supported the commissioner's bill.

The State Charities Aid Association realized that, while it might be possible through widespread publicity to secure the passage of a progressive Public Welfare Law, the chances for its successful enforcement would be greatly lessened if the Poor Law officials had not participated in the movement to secure its enactment and were not in sympathy with its provisions. The association, therefore, decided that the most important thing was to win the co-operation of the Poor Law officials. To accomplish this, a Joint Committee to work for a new law was organized consisting of representatives of the State Department of Social Welfare, the Legislative Committee of the State Association of County Superintendents of the Poor, and the State Charities Aid Association. The Legislative Committee of the Association of County Superintendents of the Poor fortunately was made up of men who were interested in a real revision of the law

and who, though a minority in their organization, were very influential. The secretary of the State Charities Aid Association Special Committee on the Revision of the Poor Law acted as secretary of the Joint Committee. Though the Poor Law officials were at first extremely suspicious of the good faith of the State Charities Aid Association, it proved eventually possible not only to win their confidence but also to gain their complete indorsement of the objectives that the association hoped to secure in a new law. As a result of this policy of complete co-operation with the officials and the State Department of Social Welfare, the Joint Committee was willing to leave much of the drafting, the management of the bill in the legislature, and the publicity to the State Charities Aid Association.

The Joint Committee came to an agreement as to the form and content of a comprehensive Public Welfare Law and drafted and secured the introduction of its bill in the 1928 legislature. In spite of the fact that this bill was indorsed by their Legislative Committee, the Association of County Superintendents of the Poor refused to support it, on account of its mandatory provision of a county system of administration. The bill also met opposition in the legislature for the same reason. Though it was later amended to make the county administrative system permissive, it passed only in the Senate.

The failure of the State Association of County Superintendents of the Poor to indorse the 1928 bill almost wrecked the Joint Committee. In spite of serious difficulties it was held together and in 1929 drafted another public welfare bill which, being permissive as to the administrative system, was indorsed by the State Association of County Superintendents of the Poor and passed by the legislature almost unanimously.

During three years, the State Charities Aid Association carried on a steady publicity campaign through pamphlets and through articles in its monthly magazine and in the newspapers. It also supplied speakers for a large number of meetings and made special efforts to secure the interest and support of influential individuals throughout the state. Most satisfactory results were secured through the use of newspaper releases, and a surprising amount of space was given in the local newspapers to the subject of Poor Law revision. In spite of the fact that the news value of the publicity

had necessarily decreased by the third year, more space, especially in editorial columns, was secured in the third year than in the previous years. One of the reasons for this success in securing newspaper publicity has been the association's policy of featuring individuals and other organizations in the news releases. The extent of public support for the new Public Welfare Law as evidenced by newspaper comment and by action of organizations and individuals has been most gratifying and should help in securing satisfactory enforcement of the progressive provisions of the new law.

The experience in New York State suggests that the activity of a private social welfare organization may be a vital factor in the drafting of progressive legislation and in securing the public support necessary for its enactment and successful enforcement. Such a private organization needs to be equipped through its study of the problem to determine the desirable objectives to be obtained, to be familiar with, but not governed by, the political factors, to be expert in legislative procedure, and to be in a position to carry on extensive publicity. The New York effort to get a law is particularly interesting because of the extent to which its success was due to the willingness and ability of a private organization to work with the public relief officials and to secure their real participation in the campaign for a new law. By patient and tactful work and a policy of real co-operation, it proved possible to win the support of the officials so completely that they consider the provisions of the new law as the result of their own experience in public relief administration and its enactment as largely due to their own efforts. Such a sympathetic attitude toward the new law should be a very great factor in the successful enforcement of its progressive provisions.

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THE SOCIAL WORKERS OF PHILADELPHIA VERSUS
THE DEAD HAND: A REVIEW OF THE
ELLIS COLLEGE CASE. I

FEW human spectacles are more inherently dramatic than the clash of points of view before a court. The public is accustomed to think of such scenes with reference to a person accused of crime, whose life or liberty is at stake. It less frequently happens that rights of property present aspects to arouse the excitement of laymen. The case of the Estate of Charles E. Ellis, just completed in the Philadelphia courts, is, however, one of those unusual cases in which personal rights are balanced against property rights, in which a customary method of thinking in the community is challenged by a new group of facts, in which modern ideas come in conflict with those centuries old. It is interesting to consider how the case progressed, how the new points of view were placed before the court, and how they were finally defeated by the legislature.

Of the contestants, one was a trust company, a trustee under a will providing a trust estate for the education and care of a group of little girls. This trustee had come to the conclusion that it should carry out the will by providing institutional care for the girls and at one stage of the proceedings proposed to enlarge the existing institution to take in more girls. On the other side was a group of disinterested persons who believed that home care as a general rule is better than institutional care for young girls. They viewed with alarm the expenditure of some \$2,000,000 to enlarge an institution in a community which in their eyes had already more institutions for the care of fatherless girls than were needed to meet the demand. They desired to convince both trustee and court that the modern tendency in child care was toward home care, that homes should not be broken up merely because of poverty, that experts believed that family contacts meant more in the lives of children than mere expenditure of money. From the standpoint of the laymen the question was as to whether the best interests of the child could prevail over antiquated methods involved in the law of charitable trusts.

Expressed in legal terms, the question was as to what, if any, rights the community, as represented by interested and adequately informed citizens, has over property left in trust for charity for the benefit of the community or a part of it. One side contended that, as such property in Pennsylvania is free from taxation and in the instant case was held in perpetuity, it was placed by law in a favored position. They argued that because of that favored position the public had some right to require that the property be used always for the best interest of the public. A trustee, they asserted, might be misinformed as to what was for the best interest of the public; and, if so, the court after hearing the case had a duty in the exercise of its visitorial powers to correct the administration of the fund in accordance with the circumstances of the case. As the trust fund was intended to benefit somebody, it seemed common sense that power be given to some agency in the community (in this case the court) to make the administration of the property really beneficial to the people for whom it was designed.

On the other hand, the trustee argued that here was a bequest under a will, that it had discretion under the terms of the will, and that a group of members of the public should not be allowed to meddle with someone else's property. Much emphasis was laid on the alleged attempt to break a will, which should be sacred. The superiority of home care over expensive institutional care for children was questioned, the natural cautions were expressed against accepting new ideas.

The present writer believes that the underlying philosophy of the case may be expressed in terms of property. If property left in trust for charity be considered private property, then all the rights of ownership including the right to exclude outsiders pertain to it. If, however, such property is regarded as public property, or quasi-public property, or, as the legal writers have it, is touched with a public interest, like property of railroads and light and power companies, then the public has a right to express an opinion regarding how it should be used. That these issues were not finally decided, in no way affects the profound significance of the issues raised.

The case is interesting to social workers because it represents an effort to place before the court social facts as a basis for legal de-

cision and social standards as rules to control the discretion of a trustee engaged in charitable work. The group which raised the question argued that the welfare of the children was paramount. The opposing party maintained that rules made by the dead hand should supersede all other factors in the case.

This article is a chronological statement of the various stages of the case with a certain amount of discussion on the points of view in controversy at each stage. First, let us consider the facts in existence before the case started.

THE FACTS

Charles E. Ellis, a Philadelphian, died April 6, 1909. In his lifetime he had accumulated \$3,500,000, largely in connection with the street-car lines in Philadelphia; and, a few years before his death, in drawing his will, he had set about finding a way to dispose of it. Two members of his family received attention. He had married twice and had divorced his first wife, by whom he had a daughter, who was living at the time of his death. To his second wife he gave permission to live in their home until her death. She was to receive an income of \$15,000 a year. His daughter at the time of the divorce had sided with her mother, and Mr. Ellis gave the daughter an income of \$6,000 a year during her lifetime but cut off the possibility of her children receiving any funds by directing that the trust fund at the decease of his daughter "shall fall into the residue of my Estate." If the daughter were to contest the will, "all the provisions of my will made for her benefit" were "to be considered revoked and annulled."

He made certain specific bequests of comparatively small amounts to hospitals, to colleges, and for the poor. The sum of forty thousand dollars was given to an old friend.

One pauses to consider the motive of the giver. People are inclined to emphasize the benevolence, the generosity, the public spirit of a man who leaves money to charity. We cannot tell at this late date what thoughts ran through this testator's head in 1905, when he gave directions to his lawyer to draw the will. It is possible to assume from the foregoing facts a desire on his part to cut off his family with a very small income. Certainly he disinherited his own

grandchildren in favor of the children and grandchildren of a group of people unknown to him. He might have disinherited his daughter but he did give her \$6,000 a year—not a large sum in view of his great wealth. He could not disinherit his wife under the law in Pennsylvania, but \$15,000 a year was not a large gift to her in view of the principal of the estate, and there had been in fact an antenuptial contract.

The will provided that the residuary estate after the other specific legacies should go to trustees:

For the purpose of establishing in the City and County of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, or one of the Pennsylvania Counties, Delaware, Chester, Montgomery, or Bucks, and in the latter event as near the Philadelphia County line as may be, with due regard to the land prices, a school, for the purpose of educating and maintaining white fatherless girls who shall not be at the time of their admission to said school, over thirteen years of age, until they shall arrive at the age of seventeen years.

There were many additional details in the will and codicils, among them the phrase, "my intention being to provide free education and maintenance for white fatherless girls." This seems to have been his main purpose.

At a later point in the controversy it became important to decide whether the "education and maintenance" or the "school" was the main purpose in the testator's mind. The trustee insisted that the "school" was more important; the opposing parties declared that the "education and maintenance" were paramount and that the school was only incidental.

Attention should perhaps be drawn to the fact that from the time of Elizabeth at least, one accepted method of caring for children who needed care was to shut them in orphan asylums until they were old enough to make their own way in the world. The world is full of monuments to this idea—some are cozy homes for orphans—others are huge barracks where the stamp of the institution is set as indelibly on the soul of the child as the stamp of prison is set upon the convict. With the growth of social work and of knowledge of the principles of child care, people began to question the success of the institution. It came to be believed that the philosophy back of that kind of child care was getting the child out

of the way so that he might cause less bother. A new philosophy began to develop in the belief that it was not the child's fault if he became an orphan and that the normal child at least was entitled to normal home life as a necessary part of his preparation for life. In 1909 this theory was not so widely accepted as it is at the present time, but social workers recall the White House Conference on Child Care in that year, at which the principle was clearly set out. Probably, however, Mr. Ellis never heard of this modern view. Certainly those into whose hands fell the administration of his gift were not advocates of the home-care method of raising white fatherless girls. The institutional method was a part of their thinking with regard to such children, and the will meant to them such a program.

The estate left for the purpose of carrying out this charitable intention amounted, we repeat, at the time of the decedent's death, to approximately three and a half million dollars. The trust company assumed responsibility for carrying out the terms of the will and appointed a committee of the board on the subject.

The first year after the testator's death was properly occupied in settling the estate. Nothing was done in 1911 toward establishing the agency for education and maintenance of white fatherless girls; 1912, 1913, and 1914 passed in the same manner. The trustee was engaged in what afterward was termed the "wise policy of carefully examining the group and coming to definite conclusions before entering upon the construction of buildings; or the organization of schools."

In 1915 came the first step forward. The Department of Child-Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation suggested "that a group of specialists in social work, education, and vocational training should be invited to consider the situation and advise with reference to the prospective work of the two colleges," namely the Ellis estate and Carson College.

Carson College had been founded by Robert A. Carson, also of Philadelphia, who died in 1907. The problems of the two trustees were so similar that this suggestion from the Russell Sage Foundation was welcomed; and as a result there was held in Philadelphia, October 13, 1915, the Carson-Ellis Conference, attended by the boards of the two colleges, twenty-five representative people, "in-

cluding the National Commissioner of Education; the Chief of the National Children's Bureau; the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Secretary of the Pennsylvania State Board of Public Charities; the Associate Superintendents of technical schools in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio," and about seventy other persons.¹

A few quotations from the report of the Committee on Conclusions are worthy of notice. The limitations inherent in the wills are noted.

Both testators plainly supposed that the number of orphans not otherwise provided for by their own kindred or friends is very large, and they laid down restrictions as to entrance and the duration of school life which, it is already evident, seriously hamper the purpose of the Trustees to carry out the benefactors' intent.

Even without these difficulties the problem of applying eight million dollars to the education of dependent girls is one which taxes the wisdom of both trustees and educators. . . .

Investigation into the number of girls who would probably comply with these very strict requirements (in the wills) shows that it could hardly be more than two or three hundred, in the immediate future, while the funds are sufficient to maintain from six hundred to one thousand girls.

Thus the trustees are warned that the wills do not provide ideal working conditions. The recommendations of the conference went so far as the following:

The Governor of the State has suggested that the removal of some of the limitations of these wills may be found to be desirable for the good of the community.

For our purposes, however, the Carson-Ellis Conference is significant in that then for the first time the trustee of the Ellis estate had brought to its attention formally the danger of breaking up homes just to take the child to an institution. "The Trustees will not forget that institution life is at best only a substitute for good home life."

An appendix to the report of the conference contained figures showing that there were, exclusive of Ellis and Carson Colleges, thirty-four institutions in or near Philadelphia caring for girls above the age of five years. Three thousand and ninety-one girls were

¹ The proceedings of the conference were published under the title, *Care and Training of Orphan and Fatherless Girls: Proceedings of a Conference on the Prospective Work of Carson College for Girls and Charles E. Ellis College*. Pp. 230.

recorded as being in these institutions, and there was a total investment for them of \$11,947,000. Adding the \$8,000,000 of Ellis and Carson money, a total of \$19,947,00 was shown to be available with a restricted number of girls. It is clear upon the facts of this report that unless particular precautions were taken by the trustee of the Ellis estate there would be no real need for the care it was prepared to give.

Unfortunately the conference neither spurred the Ellis trustee to any immediate effort, nor did the recommendations to any great extent find a place in its plans.

After the conference, matters settled down again. The trustee resumed its rôle of "watchful waiting." The years 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918 drifted by.

It was not until 1917, eight years after Mr. Ellis had died, that the trustee began operations under the fund by renting a house in the Chestnut Hill section of Philadelphia. A few girls were taken in care, and the trustee with its board, a women's committee, and a committee of educators, started to grapple with the problems of practical administration.

Not until 1919, ten years after the donor's decease, did the school begin to function. Events in the outside world had been moving during these last ten years. Social agencies, juvenile courts, clinics, psychiatrists, and others were finding out about children and their needs.

The White House Conference called by President Roosevelt in 1909 took a definite stand on the subject of home care versus institutional care for children when the recommendations were adopted.¹ Ten years later, at a national conference called by the United States Children's Bureau during the administration of President Wilson, the same principles were reiterated, and it became

¹ The statement from the White House Conference of 1909 is as follows: "The conservation of family life is the highest and finest product of civilization . . . not to be broken for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality, and to be preserved by such aid as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children . . . to be given by such methods and from such sources as may be determined by the general relief of the community. . . . Those children who for any reason are deprived of their own homes should be given the next best substitute in the shape of good foster care in good foster family homes."

clear that those who knew about the subject were even more ready than before to accept them as fundamental.

Yet all this stir and change of the period, this understanding of the value of home life, this rebalancing of old ideas in favor of new ones, seem to have made no impression on the trustee in whose discretion lay the administration of the money. The trustee was beginning to realize, however, that the task of raising children involved something more than merely erecting buildings and putting the children in them.

The testimony given in court as to this period indicates the difficulties encountered in securing suitable persons to care for the girls and the rejection of certain persons apparently well qualified. It was also quite difficult to find the girls. Request had to be sent to other agencies for information as to possible applicants.

In 1920 a farm was purchased at Newtown Square, Delaware County, and in the course of three years four dormitories were erected, the farmhouse remodeled, a staff installed, sixty girls taken in care, and the college pronounced a going concern. Still there was a problem of securing applicants. A "waiting-list" was finally prepared and played an important part in the case.

A few words should be said as to the point of view of the trustee during this preliminary phase of the proceedings. The trustee conceived its task to be that of erecting a physical college or school and of admitting to it a certain number of girls conforming to the specifications of the will, of giving these children a definite education, and then starting them out in life at the age of seventeen to earn their own living.

The trustee was prepared to spend large sums of money for the children, but its mental picture included a stone and mortar building with the name of "Ellis" over the gate as the administrative machinery for carrying on the work. In support of this they urged the wording of the will which they contended made such a college the essential part of the testator's plan.

The will of the testator had provided for a women's committee and for a committee of educators. Under the all-powerful discretion of the trustee, however, these suggestions made by Mr. Ellis himself

were no more effective than the words of the experts in the Carson-Ellis Conference.

In the course of carrying out their plan the trustee ignored suggestions made by the Women's Committee, which ceased to function. One lady told the court that she refused to be "a rubber stamp." The board of educators after a few preliminary gestures was permitted to disintegrate. The trustee through its board of men, guided to a certain extent by the secretary of the college, a young woman without professional training as a child welfare expert, preferred to go its own way and make its own decisions regarding the education and maintenance of a group of sixty girls, believing strongly that its discretion was the controlling factor, that nobody could dictate to it how it should spend its money.

The institution was staffed with highly qualified persons. The trustee did not hesitate to spend money in securing a young educator as president of the college. A capable physician was retained. Dietitians and other experts laid out the daily routine of the children. House mothers had their tasks, and teachers were installed. The miniature institution buzzed with activity.

During this preliminary period, before many children had been taken in care, the principal of the estate, being invested, produced income which was not expended for the purposes of the trust and therefore continued to accumulate. The principal itself increased somewhat because of increased value in the securities, and by the year 1923 there was in the hands of the trustee a trust estate of a trifle more than \$3,600,000 principal and accumulated income of approximately \$1,700,000. These items continued to increase during the proceedings, so that in 1926, when the first decision of the court was rendered, the principal of the estate amounted to something more than \$3,900,000. When the matter was finally disposed of in the spring of 1929, the corpus of the estate amounted to \$4,200,000, and there was accumulated income of \$2,300,000. Such an accumulation of income is an unheard-of thing in a community where the public and private child-caring agencies can scarcely raise funds enough to care for the most urgent cases.

THE EVENTS PRIOR TO THE OPEN HEARINGS IN COURT

Under the practice in Philadelphia, trustees of charitable trusts are expected to file accounts every three years with the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia County, declaring all that they had received, all they had expended, and making a clear statement of the balance in hand of their trust fund. Owing to various circumstances, the Commonwealth Title Insurance and Trust Company, on October 25, 1923, filed its second account as trustee in this estate, and asked the court to approve its work and *to permit it to add to the principal of the estate the accumulated income*. This last request immediately raised the suspicion that the interest of the trustee was not wholly altruistic. Trustees in Pennsylvania are allowed to charge commissions to compensate them for their services. These commissions are frequently 3 per cent or 5 per cent of the principal and income of the estate. As the principal of the estate increases the net commissions also increase. This request by the trustee was not unnaturally construed in some quarters as an indication of a desire to secure commissions of larger and larger amounts and to have as little trouble as possible with the trust estate. When the question was raised against the trustee in court, the request was immediately withdrawn; and in its place the trustee proposed an elaborate plan of using all the accumulation to increase Ellis College to care for sixty additional children.

The account covered the financial transactions of the trustee with \$3,500,000 over a period of six or seven years. It was quite bulky. Upon examining it the judge noticed the accumulation of income, which had not been expended for the purposes of the trust. He states, "With so great an accumulation of income in a trust for charitable purposes, and the college now has but sixty little girls, I concluded that it was my duty to exercise the visitatorial powers of the court." Under the law the courts of equity jurisdiction have certain powers of control over trustees in the interests of the beneficiaries. Some of these powers are but vaguely defined. In the present case, however, the judge, following a not unusual practice in such cases, appointed on December 7, 1923, the present writer

as *amicus curiae* "to aid the Court in examining and vouching the account of the Trustee in the above Estate, with the same power and authority as if a party in interest and also to aid the Court in the exercise of its visitorial powers over the charity created by said Will." It will be seen that this appointment carried with it two responsibilities: first, to see whether the account was a proper statement of receipts and disbursements; and, second, to investigate this enormous accumulation of income, which instead of being expended in the education and maintenance of white fatherless girls had been permitted to accumulate in the hands of the trustee, and for which there was now a request that it be considered no longer as income, but be added to the principal of the estate, thereby nearly doubling the fund which the decedent, Mr. Ellis, had left. The first of these duties, while onerous, has no place in the present story. We are concerned however with the action of the trustee which piled up money instead of executing the trust.

Judge Henderson, before whom the matter came—a splendid example of the forward-looking jurist of today—had just finished an interesting piece of work in connection with the estate of John Edgar Thomson.¹ It deserves a word of explanation here. Mr. Thomson, a former president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, had left a large estate in trust for the education and maintenance of daughters of railway employees killed in line of duty. The institution had carried on for a number of years with approximately forty children, housed on a small side street in the heart of Philadelphia in a child-caring institution of the older type. Finding it difficult to spend the income because there were so few applicants for that sort of care, the trustee had listened willingly to suggestions for enlarging the scope of the work. Efforts were made to secure additional children as inmates of the school, but such was the strength of family ties that after months of publicity directed to all railroads in the United States, only three new children were secured. Consequently the trustee was quite prepared to give ear to suggestions from the court for administering a portion of the fund so as to provide income for children in their own homes, paralleling the work of

¹ This case will be found in the records of the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia County, January term, 1881, No. 310.

the Mothers' Assistance Fund and avoiding the necessity of breaking up homes on account of poverty. The plan once tried out by the Thomson estate trustees proved so satisfactory to them that while there are still some thirty or forty children in residence in the institution, there is now a group of some one hundred and fifty children being cared for by funds given under supervision to the mothers of the children in their own homes.¹

The *amicus curiae*, also having just finished work on this problem in the Thomson estate, naturally saw a possibility in the Ellis estate of trying out a similar plan. Several institutions for children in Philadelphia, such as the Pauline Home and the Union Temporary Home, had made similar changes in the last twenty years so that there was nothing novel in the proposal.

The first step was to visit the existing plant. The site was in many ways admirable. A broad farm with a stretch of woodland extended over the rolling hills of Delaware County. Two neat gatehouses of stone stood at the entrance making a convenient waiting-room for mothers who after visiting their daughters were returning to Philadelphia by way of the trolley line which runs past the property. A broad well-made road curved back from the highway across open fields past a playground to four large gray stone homes, each occupied by a house mother and fifteen girls. The accommodations were comfortable; attractive rugs, hangings, furniture, in each room—adequate washrooms, laundry, kitchen, a certain amount of individuality in the arrangements of each house.

Farther along the road was the old white farmhouse, now transformed into schoolrooms for the younger children and an infirmary. Other buildings were the barn and farmers' cottage and sheds.

The administrative staff consisted of a secretary of the college in Philadelphia, who had supervision over the admission of new students; a president of the college, who commuted daily to attend to his duties; four house mothers, one for each cottage; and the necessary staff of cooks, teachers, farm-laborers, and so forth.

Yet there was one aspect of the situation that to the *amicus curiae* did not appear favorable. In writing to the college board

¹ For a description of the school and its operation, see *Pennsylvania Railroad Information*, April, 1929.

some time previously, the Secretary of Welfare of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania had occasion to use the following words:

We do feel it necessary, however, to sound a note of warning as to your admission routine, for it is obvious that foundations such as Ellis, Carson, and Girard have a very real responsibility in accepting applicants. No matter how frequent the girls' contacts with their families are or what educational advantages the college has to offer above those of the girls' own homes, an institution cannot supply those subtler needs of childhood which are met in the child's own home, simple though it may be. For this reason we would urge the use of every resource for keeping families together—relatives' interest, Mothers' Assistance Funds, societies for organizing charity, and church support—and that you undertake the care of only those girls for whom no other provision is possible.

These words merely emphasize the warning already quoted from the Carson-Ellis Conference. Here is a second admonition that the plan adopted by the trustee while perhaps in conformity with the will on major points was not by any means oriented with respect to the welfare of the beneficiaries. It did not seem right to the *amicus curiae* that the welfare of the beneficiaries should be overlooked, particularly when they were a group of little girls unable to take their own part.

The tendency in favor of home care for normal children appeared in literature from the meetings of social workers, physicians, and others as superseding other sorts of care. The home-care plan seemed such a reasonable one that the *amicus curiae* in his report to the court reproduced much of the philosophy back of it and urged its consideration by the trustee. This report contained elaborate references to opinions of social workers and of child welfare experts as to the importance of maintaining families as units, of not separating children from their mothers in cases in which poverty was the only cause of difficulty in the home. The proceedings of the Carson-Ellis Conference and the reports of agencies were quoted to show how widespread was this new conception of the responsibility of the community to insure "home care" for every normal child.

But these overtures in behalf of the children were not effective against the trustee. It held the same view that its discretion as to the administration of the fund must not be questioned. The *amicus curiae* urged that the trustee try out the new plan and see how it

worked, just as the Thomson estate trustees had done with such satisfaction.

The trustee replied in effect that, while the report would be enlightening for a man who was about to make a will, yet in the present instance, as Mr. Ellis, in 1909, had had in mind an institution for girls similar to Girard College for boys, established three-quarters of a century ago, the trustee had no power to do anything except carry out its own interpretation of its duties under the terms of the will. This raised a definite issue as to whether the home-care plan was better than institutional care and if so whether the trustees were justified in insisting on the less desirable method merely because of the manner in which they interpreted the will.

While the question of the care of children was in the foreground, the relative merits of institutional as against home care necessarily were involved. At the same time in the background another question loomed large—What rights has the public over the administration of a trust fund for charity to bring it up to date? The beneficiaries of this fund were a section of the general public, not specific individuals mentioned by name. If the public became convinced that home care was better for normal children than institutional care, could anything be done about it? In other words, was there not something in the legal status of charitable property which made it different from that private property over which the owner could exercise absolute control? Could the trustee of the Ellis Fund say in effect we do not care to hear whether the home care is better or worse than institutional care, we will not be dictated to? Or could the trust-fund administration be controlled in the interest of the beneficiaries and their welfare?

Judge Henderson believed that the question might be resolved by a frank discussion. He therefore arranged for some meetings in his chambers to which the board of the trustee were invited where the *amicus curiae* and a group of assisting lawyers and social workers presented their view of the case. It was hoped that the presence of such a distinguished gathering might satisfy the trustee that home care for children had the support of the community at large.¹

¹ Foremost among the social workers was J. Prentice Murphy, who organized for presentation nearly all the evidence submitted in support of the social aspects of the

The meetings called by Judge Henderson were informal discussions in which those present representing the social agencies endeavored to show the representatives of the trustee the advantages of operating under the home-care plan, the increased benefit to the children, and the opportunity for making a broader contribution to the welfare of the community with the enormous sums at its disposal. These efforts were unsuccessful. The trustee persevered in its position, and there was therefore a choice for the *amicus curiae* either to let the matter rest or to endeavor to maintain his position by action at law. It was not difficult to decide what to do, because an *amicus curiae* is put in his position for the purpose of raising such questions as he conscientiously thinks ought to be raised, while at the same time not delaying the court with unimportant quibbles.

The *amicus curiae* believed that it was worth while proceeding to litigate the matter, because there existed in Pennsylvania a law subsequently amended but originally passed in the year 1855, by which it was provided in effect that there was a limit beyond which certain charitable groups and organizations might not accumulate income. It had long been the policy of the law in Pennsylvania to encourage charities and gifts for charitable purposes, but the legislators as far back as 1853 and again in 1855 had realized that a trustee who accumulated the income of his trust without spending it, may ultimately very well become a menace to the community.

In an early Pennsylvania case¹ the court quoted the following words to show the danger which ought to be guarded against by the courts even though the legislature had taken no action:

But a trust for perpetual accumulation of a part of the income, though a consequence not intended, and though the founding of a charity were the ex-

case. Charles Edwin Fox and Jerome J. Rothschild of the Philadelphia bar appeared as counsel for the *amicus curiae*. At a later stage in the proceedings former United States Senator George Wharton Pepper came into the case as counsel for the intervenors, and his wise, kindly advice was greatly appreciated by his colleagues.

The widespread interest in the problem was shown by the fact that a number of lawyers appeared for different interested agencies: the Society for Organizing Charity; the Masonic Homes of Pennsylvania; the Estate of J. Edgar Thomson; a large group of Catholic charities; and a special deputy-attorney appeared for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

¹ *Hillyard v. Miller*, 10 Pa. 326.

clusive motive, would be a perpetuity productive of all the evils which the law abhors; for it would ultimately draw into its vortex all the property in the state.

In the language of the statute of 1855¹ a charitable corporation might accumulate and hold property to the clear annual value of \$5,000 and to no greater extent without an express legislative sanction. This amount was subsequently raised to \$30,000, and again to \$50,000 by the Act of 1915. The accumulation in the Ellis case being \$2,000,000, and therefore in excess of the permitted sum it seemed that the case fell directly within the rule of the statute. The statutes in question further provided that if a charitable corporation or association desired to hold and accumulate income in excess of the amount provided, it might be authorized to do so by proving to the courts that the additional sum could be efficiently employed under its existing scheme of administration for the benefit of the community. Unless this could be shown, the court was directed to select for administering the excess and unused income a method as nearly as possible like the one laid down by the donor of the fund, taking into consideration the welfare of the community. This, then, was the legal basis upon which the case was instituted. There was excess income. The drift of public sentiment toward home care made it inexpedient further to enlarge a college for institutional care. Home care was the next nearest method of looking after the children; so the court should select the home-care method of carrying out the testator's intention.

After a study of the statutes cited, the *amicus curiae* came to the conclusion that these rules of law imposed on charitable trust property a definite limitation. The trustee in administering it should have in mind the interests of the beneficiaries, and the court should require a modification of administration in cases in which there are surplus funds as in the present case.

A review of the decisions in Pennsylvania showed that the courts had been most liberal in modifying the administration of charitable trust funds in the interest of common sense.

In 1863, for example, the court² laid down the general rule:

¹ Act of April 26, 1855, P.L. 328; Act of April 22, 1889, P.L. 420; Act of May 9, 1889, P.L. 173; Act of May 23, 1895, P.L. 114; Act of June 1, 1915, P.L. 701.

² *Philadelphia v. Girard*, 45 Pa. 9.

In all gifts for charitable uses the law makes a very clear distinction between those parts of the writing conveying them and which declare the gift and its purposes, and those which direct the mode of its administration, and this distinction is quite inevitable, for it is founded in the nature of things. We must observe this distinction in studying Mr. Girard's Will, otherwise we run the risk of inverting the natural order of things by subordinating principles to form, the purpose to its means, the actual and executed gift for a known purpose to the prescribed or vaticinated modes of administering it, that are intended for adaptation to an unknown future, and of thus making the chief purpose of the gift dependent on the very often unwise directions prescribed for its future security and efficiency.

Further on in the same opinion the court said:

The meaning of the doctrine of *cy pres*, as received by us, is, that when a definite function or duty is to be performed and it cannot be done in exact conformity with the scheme of the person or persons who have provided for it, it must be performed with as close approximation to that scheme as reasonably practicable; and so, of course, it must be enforced. It is the doctrine of approximation, and it is not at all confined to the administration of charities, but is equally applicable to all devises and contracts wherein the future is provided for, and it is an essential element of equity jurisprudence.

In the present case, then, besides the statutes two related rules of judge-made law were relied upon: (1) the courts did not scruple to modify the administrative detail of a will in order the better to secure the main purpose of the testator; (2) at the same time one of the oldest rules of equity was involved—the *cy pres* doctrine—by which the court is accustomed to adapt the provisions of a will in accordance with common sense even though common sense conflicts with the provisions of the dead hand.

This rule of law is by no means confined to Pennsylvania. The New Hampshire Supreme Court lays down a similar principle.¹

¹ *Keene v. Eastman* (1909), 75 N.H. 191. "The making of a gift for charitable purposes, which is unlimited as to length of time it may continue, presupposes a knowledge on the part of the donor that material changes in the attending circumstances will occur which may render a literal compliance with the terms of the gift impracticable if not impossible; and it is not unreasonable to infer that under such circumstances the nearest practical approximation to his expressed wish in the management and development of the trust will promote his intention to make his charitable purpose reasonably effective; for it would be rash to infer that he intended that the Trust Fund should be used only in such a way that it could not result in a public benefit; in other words, that he wished his general benevolent purpose to be defeated if his method of administering the trust should become impracticable."

As has been pointed out, the Ellis estate in this connection presented the question as to whether a physical college with appropriate dormitories for the children was the main purpose of Mr. Ellis or merely a bit of administrative detail that might be modified. The law had held that the particular institution through which a charity is to be carried into effect, the time within which it is to be established, its site, the control by the inhabitants of a certain place, the provision for the sale of a certain property with the proceeds of which a certain charity is to be conducted, were all administrative details which in a proper case and for cause might be molded by equity to fit in with the general intent of the testator.¹

It is apparent from the foregoing that there was legislative and judicial precedent for the position urged in the Ellis Estate.

Two points should be decided: first, whether the statute law in question related to the present trustee, which was a question of interpreting the language of the statute; second, what the responsibilities of the court were if the statute did apply, that is, had the court a right in such cases to control a portion of the fund? What facts were necessary to justify the court in exercising control over such funds? In a word, had conditions with reference to the Ellis Fund so changed since the death of Mr. Ellis in 1909 that the court had a duty to use the money in a modification of the plan of the trustee and for the best interests of the little girls whom the testator had desired to benefit.

The *amicus curiae* contended that the court should apply the excess accumulations of property for the maintenance and education

¹ *In re Franklin St. Church*, 249 Pa. 275; *Avery v. Home for Orphans*, 228 Pa. 58; *Toner's Estate*, 260 Pa. 49; *Thomson Estate*, 310 January term, 1881, Orphans' Court of Philadelphia County.

In a number of other cases children's institutions of the old style had been modified by the court to permit the trustees to function according to the home-care plan: *Gwynne Home*, 23295 in Equity, Suffolk County, Boston, Mass.; *Huntingdon Institute*, Suffolk Supreme Judicial Court in Equity 22622, Mass.; *Union Temporary Home*, C.C.P. No. 3, Philadelphia County, decree recorded in office for recording of deeds in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 20, 1889, Charter Book 24, p. 333; *Pauline Home* C.C.P. No. 2, Philadelphia County, March term, 1887, No. 248.

The leading English case on the same subject is *In re Campden Charities*, 18 Ch.D., 310 A.C. 1880. Here the same rule is laid down as the one urged by the *amicus curiae* in the Ellis Estate.

of white fatherless girls in their own homes after the fashion of Mothers' Assistance Fund grants. Such administration of course was to be in the hands of the trustee, just as much as any other part of the money, but the difference was, that with regard to this excess accumulation, the modern home-care method was to be used in preference to the older institutional method because since the testator's death it was generally agreed that home care was better than institutional care for normal children.

The case represented then an effort to translate into rules of law, certain basic principles of social work as they related to children, and the proposal was opposed vigorously by those who contended in favor of the sanctity of the words written by the dead hand and interpreted by the trustee.

THE EVENTS INCLUDING THE FIRST DECISION

THE PROCESS OF PLACING SOCIAL FACTS ON THE RECORD

The first step toward court proceedings was to organize the case for the *amicus curiae* so that these questions might be presented to the court in an orderly manner. Proof was necessary to show:

1. That home care was superior to institutional care for normal children.
2. That because of a general understanding of this fact the demand in the community was for home care and not for institutional care.
3. That as there was little, if any, demand for institutional care, there was no reason, having in mind the welfare of the community and beneficiaries, why the accumulations of income should not be devoted to grants to mothers to enable them to keep their children at home, rather than to use this same money to put up more buildings at the Ellis College plant, and take in some additional children, incidentally breaking up their homes.

To prove these points witnesses representing the community were assembled, including (1) a group of public officials representing the Department of Welfare of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the State Mothers' Assistance Fund, the State Bureau of Children, and many local social agencies in the child welfare field; (2) a group of judges from the courts in Philadelphia, representatives of the

public school system, and persons prominent socially and otherwise in the life of the community; (3) a group of experts, psychiatrists, and physicians who were able to testify to the detriment that a child suffers by being removed from the home, and suffers again by being discharged from the institution during a period of adolescence; (4) persons representing the various religious interests in the community. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews combined to confirm the position that home care was preferable to institutional care for white fatherless girls such as Charles E. Ellis had in mind and such as the trustee was now taking from their own homes.

The interests thus gathered were unanimous in affirming that today the trend of child care is in favor of home, rather than institutional, care.

The first task was to transfer to the court records the data long familiar to social workers and laymen. Courts base their decisions on what is presented on the record of the case rather than on general knowledge of what is going on in the community. This process of transferring the facts to the record is a prerequisite to a court decision on those facts. In the present case the broad social and economic background of the community was to be painted in such a general fashion that the overwhelming tendency in favor of home care for children over institutional care would stand out. It is likely that in the next few years much more of the social and economic background will find its way into the court records as a basis for which rules of law may be adapted more accurately to the solution of particular controversies.

Evidence was given that 4,200 would include all children, including boys, who at any one time in Philadelphia needed charitable care.

It was shown that the state cared for many of these through the Workmen's Compensation Fund, the County Open Air Relief, the Mothers' Assistance Fund, and other similar agencies.

There were 2,000 vacancies for children in the state, and 942 in the city, institutions. Of the 4,200 children in need of care about 40 per cent were girls. There were 24 institutions for white girls in the vicinity of Philadelphia with 399 vacancies. There were in ad-

dition eleven fraternal organizations in the vicinity which took white fatherless girls and in them were 367 vacancies.

More institutions would merely add to the tremendous overlapping, already too great.

The following paragraphs will give some idea as to what evidence was produced and what the witnesses actually said:

Dr. Potter of the State Department of Public Welfare, said:

I believe that the normal white fatherless girl will do far better if she can be kept with her own mother or her own relatives . . . even though she has to suffer a degree of hardship and privation, because, I think, after all, that most of us develop stronger characteristics if we do not have too easy a time. By that I do not mean that I want a child to have a hard time, but I do think that the family life, with all the things that it can bring in the way of affection, of responsibility and dependability, is far better than a very fine institutional training. . . .

Dr. Joseph Corrigan, former director of Catholic Charities in Philadelphia, stated their policy as follows:

We place no child in an institution that can possibly be put in a private home. We have no thought of anything except keeping children out of our institutions. The whole purpose of the Catholic Children's Bureau is not to put children in institutions but to keep them out. . . .

Question: You have reviewed the work of our institutions in that respect and decided in favor of the private home as against the best of institutions?

Answer: Against the best institutions in the world.

Mr. James M. Wilcox, president of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, director of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania and of St. Vincent's Home at Lansdowne, after stressing the moral advantages of the association with others that come from being a member of a home, spoke of the relation of a child to his neighborhood and environment as being a very vital reason why the natural home should be maintained. He considers a good foster home as the next best thing to a child's own home, and mentioned as the experience of the Children's Aid Society that it is possible to get in this way "something of the same care and tender solicitude for the welfare of the child that is found in the natural home."

Mr. Edwin D. Solenberger, executive secretary of the Children's Aid Society, fully concurred in these sentiments.

Mr. Walter I. Cooper, one of the directors of the Family Society

and a member of the Committee of Charity of the Chamber of Commerce, testified that the Chamber of Commerce in rating institutions rates those highest which most nearly approximate the conditions of the private home, as in the cottage type of care, but added:

My feeling is that there is no substitute for a mother. . . . No woman could be a real mother to fifteen or twenty children. . . . I have reached the conclusion that home life, even where the conditions are below what they should be, is preferable to institution life, no matter how well the institution may be conducted.

Dr. Samuel McC. Hammill, eminent child specialist, mentioned that death-rates are higher in cities having a large number of institutions and stated it as his belief that a child's chances are better outside:

The influences of the home upon child health are absolutely essential to the physical and mental development of the child. . . . Where it is possible to go into a home and teach the mother how to care for her children (she is capable of responding to a higher degree than is possible in any institution) it is being done in an environment that is more responsive than an institution.

Dr. Edward A. Strecker, specialist in neurology and psychiatry, gave it as his opinion that most normal girls would have great difficulty in adjusting in their own homes after years spent in an institution, but that even more important are the things that they would have missed:

She would certainly lose the lessons that she would get from family life—the intimate contact with the normal mother and all that she means to the future of the child. . . . She would lose the preparation for making a home. . . . These things are not taught by what we tell children, but . . . by constant object lessons.

Dr. Frederick H. Allen, of the All Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, expressed entire agreement with Dr. Strecker's remarks.

Dr. Jessie Taft, director of the child study department of the Children's Aid Society, pointed out the dangers of discharging a girl from the sheltered life of an institution at the critical age of seventeen. Her reaction is apt to be

either fear at the sudden excess of liberty which makes a child unequal to the situation of the outside world, or a sudden relief from too much discipline which makes her go wild. . . . There is no substitute for the kind of security the family offers—none that psychiatry knows about.

Judge Horace Stern, of Court of Common Pleas No. 2 of Philadelphia County and then President of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Philadelphia, said:

. . . . My opinion is that orphan children are better off primarily in their own homes, secondarily in other private homes; and thirdly, as a last resort, in orphanages and institutions. . . . I think a child who is the product of an institution can never be the same as a child who is brought up in a home environment.

We try to impress upon [a] mother who impulsively [tries] to put a child in a home through a mistaken idea that her child will be better off there, we try to take her and show her what is right. That is where the first education should begin.

Judge Abraham Beitler of the Masonic Order has come to have a dread of institutions. I am a very firm believer that a home presided over by a normally good woman is the place to rear children. I think the man who leaves his money now to found an institution is doing a wrong rather than conferring a benefit.

The two ladies from whose testimony quotations are now given were members of the Women's Committee of Ellis College, which was permitted to disintegrate. The trustees claimed that the ladies did not get on with each other. Mrs. McCouch and Mrs. Williams testified that their suggestions for improving the college were so uniformly negated by the trustee that there was no value in their remaining on the committee.

Mrs. H. Gordon McCouch, president of the Mothers' Assistance Fund of Philadelphia, expressed her views as follows:

My views are that a child is very much more favorably circumstanced when it remains in its home. I think the influence of the family, the rubbing up of one member against the others, their having common family interests and responsibilities is a very great factor in the development of a child. . . . Besides that, I think the family affection is a very strong interest in the development of a child's nature.

Mrs. Ira J. Williams stated that for a number of years she visited homes constantly for the Mothers' Assistance Fund and that in her opinion home care is so far superior to institutional care that there is no comparison.

Question: And your opinion is based on your own personal experience?

Answer: It is based on that exactly.

When asked if she shared the fear expressed by the president of the Ellis College as to the immoral effect of city streets on girls in their own homes, Mrs. Williams said:

Answer: In visiting the simple homes that I have visited I have felt that there was a very positive atmosphere of morality and self respect.

Question: In other words, the home still continues to function as a home?

Answer. It does and it makes its own atmosphere. . . . The greatest thing I see in visiting Ellis College and . . . these small homes is the difference in atmosphere. The atmosphere of the home is give and take, more particularly give; the atmosphere of Ellis College, as I saw it, was to get all. . . .

Hon. J. Willis Martin, president judge of Court of Common Pleas No. 5 of Philadelphia County and former president of the Welfare Federation of Philadelphia, gave this magnificent summing up of the case for home care:

As an institution for character building . . . there is nothing that can take the place of the home and family circle. The simple qualities that are bred and cultured there are those that are regarded as essential. . . . They may be taught outside the home but I doubt if they can be built into boys and girls . . . by anything but the home influence that breeds them. The home is, I think, the basis of self respect and the respect of others and of unselfishness and kindness; it makes good neighbors and good citizens. . . . The affection built up for a home, whether it be simple or luxurious, is something that never dies out in the minds of properly brought up boys and girls and men and women.

And then, in addition to the advantages to the children, it seems to me that where intelligent supervision over backward mothers is produced that it encourages those mothers in their maternal instincts, which is one of the most important things in our social system . . . never to allow a mother to get away from her responsibility to her child and to have her trained, if necessary, by intelligent, tactful supervision to take care of her child in the proper way, to bring him or her up to be a useful citizen.

As an example of the type of information given the testimony of Dr. Isaac M. Rubinow may be quoted. Dr. Rubinow, then executive director of the Jewish Welfare Society, a statistician of national reputation, was asked with reference to the need for a further extension of institutional care, whether the demand by the community was or was not increasing as a matter of fact. The following two quotations indicate the value of what he had to say. During the trial the words "raw material" were occasionally used to represent the demand for institutional or home care.

It is true that the population of the city of Philadelphia has been growing fast, but the mortality rate has been decreasing almost with the same speed, and it is almost incredible, but nevertheless true statistically, that there are only 6% more people dying in Philadelphia at the present time than there were 20 years ago, although there has been an increase of 40% in the population.

As to the future, we can expect, I think we can reasonably expect, the population of the city will not grow as it has in the past because of the ceasing of immigration. We can therefore assume that the mortality rate will continue to decline. Everything tends in that direction. We can further assume that the number of orphans will decline because of the declining birth rate, because of the stoppage of immigration from the countries which have had a large birth rate. So that, all in all, the number of orphans to be taken care of by institutions or in any other way is not increasing, and in the future is not apt to be high. Of course, take all the orphans, irrespective of the way in which they may be taken care of and with the modern tendency developing toward leaving orphans in their own homes, or placing them in private foster homes, the raw material for any orphan institution for fatherless girls or fatherless boys must necessarily decline.

Further along this line we note the testimony of Dr. Neva R. Deardorff:

The one factor that seems to me important is that we are taking care of orphans from an entirely different point of view in a larger and larger proportion of the cases. That is, perhaps I make my point clear by pointing out that years ago orphans created by war were just orphans: now, the orphans created by war are provided for by the government specifically in terms of what caused their orphanage. I believe the orphans of the men of the last war participate in a rather substantial provision of government insurance and from government compensation. So that the whole factor of taking care of orphans in terms of what causes their orphanage has come into being. We not only provide for soldiers' orphans, but we provide for the orphans of men, and women too, killed in industrial accidents. For the Children's Commission the Workmen's Compensation Division in Harrisburg compiled certain statistics, and they reported to us that since the Workmen's Compensation law has gone into effect, January 1, 1916, to October 24, 1924, 22,400 children who had lost their parents through this cause had been provided for by compensation or generally assisted through compensation. I think the whole modern tendency is to break up what used to be a very solid mass of orphans, the orphan as an orphan, regardless of the cause, into orphans created by various causes and to relate our remedial measures for the care of orphans to the cause which operated to produce that situation. I think that is the whole tendency which must be reckoned with in thinking of the provision of extending a type of care such as this.

I think those broad social factors: first, the decreasing percentage of death, the relation of the methods of care to the causes of death, the causes which

produce the orphanage, the increasing respect which is being paid to women and the expanding opportunities of women and the growing theory of the applications of the solidarity of the family all operate in a very broad way to cut down the need for institutional care.

Institutional care I think had its origin in conditions in society where great numbers of parents died and left great masses of children, where the individual family had a large number of children of its own, so that the opportunity for foster care in the case of relatives was fewer and mass methods of care had to be resorted to. We have seen a repetition of that condition in society in the war torn countries of Europe where they have had to resort to orphanage care for orphans in recent years. Those conditions over there of course differ from our society.¹

In addition to these rather general statements of opinion, many specific points were made in favor of the proposition that there was really little if any demand for the type of care Ellis College was prepared to give and that therefore there was no real reason to spend more money on this basis. Common sense indicated a modification of administration so that the money while still within the field selected by the testator for his gift might be as useful as possible.

Representatives of the Mothers' Assistance Fund were produced as witnesses to testify to the long list of some 1,700 children waiting until funds available for home care should be large enough to include them. The relative length of this list desiring home care as against the final waiting-list submitted by Ellis College, containing before it was investigated eighty-one names, speaks volumes for the desire of mothers to keep their homes together.

It was further argued that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania through the legislature and its Welfare Department had expressed a very definite public policy in favor of home care, as against institutional care, and that this was evidenced by the passage of such laws as the Mothers' Assistance Fund Act, and the law creating the State Department of Welfare with supervision over the care of children.

¹ For further information as to Dr. Deardorff's position on this subject, see her article, "The New Pied Pipers and What They Pay," *Survey*, LII (1924), 31-45.

[To be concluded]

SOME STATISTICS OF FAMILY WELFARE AND RELIEF IN CHICAGO—1928

COUNCILS of Social Agencies, in seeking to plan an integrated attack upon local social problems, have turned quite logically to statistics. No available tool seemed to hold promise of contributing more directly to the task of transforming scattered energy into united action. Cities in which joint financing is associated with council activities have seen in a central statistical bureau a logical extension of joint purchasing and similar common services that all member organizations are entitled to enjoy. Councils not concerned with joint fund-raising have likewise recognized not only the benefits that might be expected to accrue to member agencies from a central compilation of statistical material but also the contribution such a body of knowledge might make to a study of the problems of community welfare.

The Chicago Council of Social Agencies, through its participation in the Registration of Social Statistics,¹ attempted in 1928 to initiate a central statistical service of this type. All local agencies concerned with the treatment of cases of dependency, delinquency, and illness were asked to send to the Council office monthly reports of the volume of work undertaken. In addition to the member agencies, organizations not affiliated with the Council but functioning in one or more of these three fields, were invited to participate, and an earnest effort was made to enlist their co-operation.

A total of 4,080 monthly reports for the twelve-month period ending December 31, 1928, would have been necessary to cover the three designated fields completely. Of this number 2,275 were actually received. In the first year of its existence, therefore, the central statistical bureau² of the Chicago Council succeeded in assembling

¹ The Registration of Social Statistics is a research project at the University of Chicago that is directed jointly by the University's Local Community Research Committee and the Association of Community Chests and Councils. It sought, during 1928, to collect monthly reports from all social agencies dealing with cases of dependency, delinquency, and illness in twenty-nine cities.

² The work of this bureau was financed jointly by the Chicago Council of Social Agencies and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago.

55.8 per cent of the total number of reports it set out to collect. The actual results, however, are more imposing than this figure would indicate. In any city public agencies and agencies not affiliated with the Council are often slow to develop enthusiasm for council projects. The number of such agencies is naturally disproportionate in a city of the size of Chicago. Nevertheless, all but 8 of a total of 32 reports expected monthly from public agencies were received with reasonable regularity, and many of the non-Council agencies that did not agree to send statistical statements each month expressed complete willingness to give an annual statement at the close of the reporting period.

The tabulation of the returns for the twelve months began in March, 1929.¹ Several fields have been completed, and the resulting tables have been sent to the agencies that contributed the original data. Some of the figures have been discussed in meetings of the Council, and the data received in the field of family welfare² and relief, which are set forth here, have been presented graphically to illustrate to council members the type of contribution that the central statistical bureau may ultimately be expected to make.

Chart I represents the total amount of relief given to families and to ex-soldiers and their families in 1928 and the proportions of the total that were distributed by the various agencies that handle the dependency problems of Chicago. The Mothers' Pension Division of the Juvenile Court surpassed all other agencies in the amount for which it was responsible—38.9 per cent of the total.

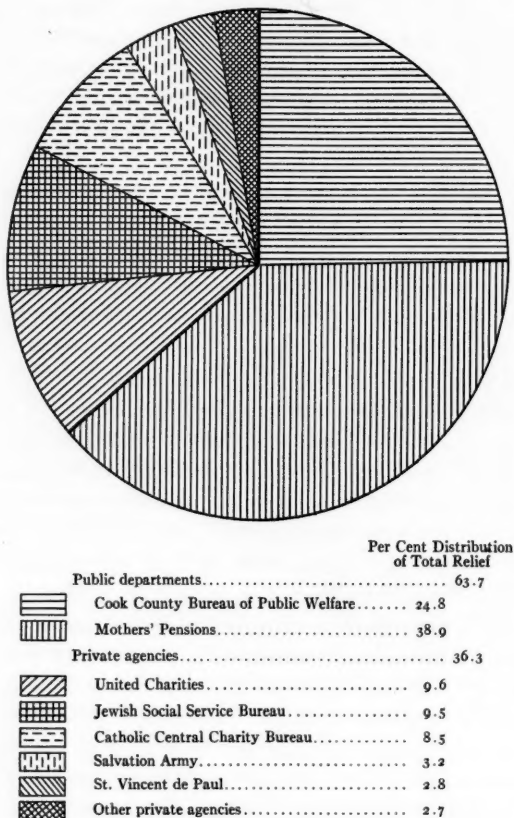
The Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare gave practically a fourth of all relief. The figures of this bureau include blind pensions and ex-soldier relief as well as family welfare expenditures. The total amount disbursed from the public treasury for family relief (the sum of the amounts disbursed by the Mothers' Pension Division and the Cook County Bureau) was 63.7 per cent, or nearly two-thirds of the total. The combined disbursements of the private agencies represent 36.3 per cent of the total for the city. Of this amount the

¹ These tabulations were made by Mary H. Gleason, the local supervisor of the registration for the Chicago Council of Social Agencies.

² The field of family welfare is here interpreted to include care of ex-soldiers and their families.

largest expenditures were made by the United Charities with 9.6 per cent of the total, the Jewish Social Service Bureau with 9.5 per cent

CHART I
FAMILY AND EX-SOLDIER RELIEF IN CHICAGO, 1928
\$2,689,786



of the total, and the Catholic Central Charity Bureau with 8.5 per cent. The Salvation Army spent 3.2 per cent of the total, and the St. Vincent de Paul Society 2.8 per cent. The remaining 2.7 per

cent was given by the four following societies, each of which expended less than 1 per cent of the total: American Red Cross, German Society, Vocational Supervision League, and Scholarship Association for Jewish Children.

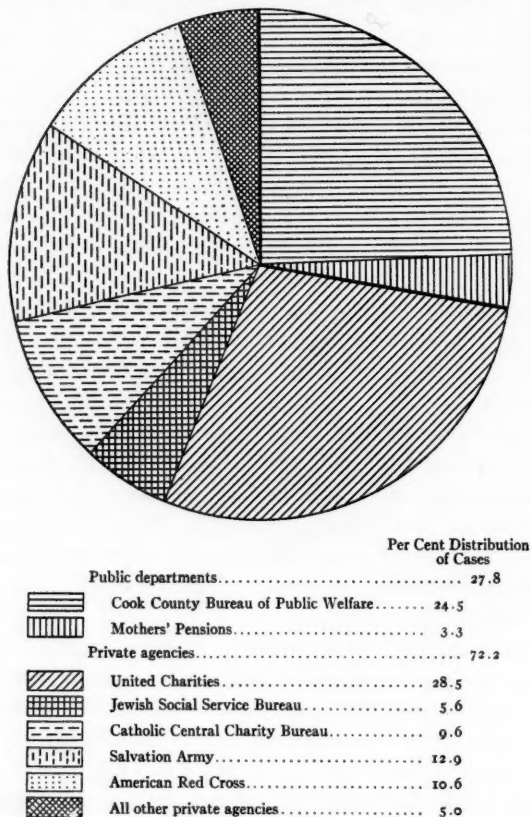
The total amount given by these public and private agencies during 1928 was \$2,689,786. Thus the bill for relief in the city of Chicago represents a sum of imposing proportions. There is reason to believe that this figure is substantially correct. No doubt a small organization could be found here and there whose disbursements are not included, but the amounts of a few small groups would not, in a total of this size, make any appreciable difference. The figure quoted here does seem to include the disbursements of all the large recognized agencies upon which Chicago depends for the handling of its problem of destitution. The Mothers' Pension division is the only single agency of this group whose annual expenditure was in excess of a million dollars. The total for 1928 was \$1,046,453. The combined total expenditure of the two public agencies was \$1,714,631. The amounts spent by the United Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau were substantially equal, totaling \$259,146 and \$254,661, respectively. The Catholic Central Charity Bureau stood next among the private organizations with a total of \$229,747. The German Society, which gave the smallest percentage of the total relief, was nevertheless responsible for the expenditure of \$11,432, which is more than the total sum available for relief in many of the smaller cities of the country.

The total expenditures of the Cook County Bureau for 1928 were distributed as follows: blind pensions, \$214,214; ex-soldier relief, \$47,658; family relief, \$406,306; total, \$668,178. The amount expended by this bureau in aid to ex-service men added to the sum, \$20,202, expended during the year by the Red Cross for this purpose, is \$67,860, which represents the total amount expended last year in Chicago for the relief of ex-soldiers.

Chart II shows the distribution of the total number of family welfare and ex-service cases under care in Chicago in 1928. Both major-care and minor-care cases are included in these totals. The preceding chart indicated that nearly two-thirds of the relief is ad-

ministered by the public agencies, but this chart indicates that only slightly more than one-fourth of the cases are in their hands.¹ This

CHART II
FAMILY AND EX-SOLDIER CASES IN CHICAGO DURING 1928



difference is particularly arresting in the case of the Mothers' Pension Division, which gives 38.9 per cent of all relief in the city to

¹ The percentage of cases cared for by the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare has been estimated, since the number of recurrent cases was not reported. Figures given are for the number of *different* cases cared for during the year.

only 3.3 per cent of the cases. One of the reasons for this will appear in Chart IV, in which the amount of relief per relief case is shown. Obviously, however, every mothers' aid case receives a regular monthly allowance; and, moreover, the total number of cases is not augmented by a large number of minor-care cases in which little work is done and upon which little money is spent.

The private agencies, although they disbursed only 36.3 per cent of the relief, handled 72.2 per cent of the cases. Of this number, 28.5 per cent, or more than a third, were reported by the United Charities. As will appear later, a majority of these cases are minor-care cases. The next largest number was 12.9 per cent reported by the Salvation Army, followed by 10.6 per cent reported by the Red Cross, 9.6 per cent by the Catholic Central Charity Bureau, 5.6 by the Jewish Social Service Bureau, and 5 per cent by all other private agencies combined.

A few additional figures may throw light upon this chart. An average of 14,164 major-care cases were open each month in Chicago, of which 9,900, or 69.9 per cent, were in the hands of public agencies and 4,264, or 30.1 per cent, in the hands of private agencies. Thus the proportions here are practically reversed, indicating that the large load of minor-care cases is responsible for the high proportion shown by private agencies when total cases are considered. With regard to the figures on major-care cases there is also the possibility that public agencies use this category more freely than do the private societies. Since some organizations keep cases in the open file which do not receive active service, it seemed important to determine the number of open cases actually worked on. This figure reached the enormous total of 11,099 a month for the city.

Of the two public bureaus, the Mothers' Pension Division worked on a larger proportion of its open cases each month than did the Cook County Bureau. The Cook County Bureau had 55 per cent of all open major-care cases in the city, but worked on only 50 per cent of the total number worked on in the city, whereas the Mothers' Pension Division loomed larger in the percentage worked on than in the percentage open; in other words, the Mothers' Pension Division had only 14.7 per cent of all open major-care cases in the city but had 18.3 per cent of all open cases worked on. The United Char-

ities reported 9.3 per cent of all major-care cases open and the Jewish Social Service Bureau, 7.9 per cent.

The figures relating to minor-care cases present a very different aspect. In the first place, the total number of minor-care cases was much smaller than the number of major-care cases. Only 3,016 minor-care cases were worked on each month as compared with 11,099 major-care cases. Moreover, the private agencies reported a much higher percentage of the minor-care cases than did the public bureaus. The Mothers' Pension Division reported no minor-care cases and the Cook County Bureau reported only 14 per cent of the total number reported in the city. (The St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Catholic Central Charity Bureau did not report this figure.) Almost two-thirds of all minor-care cases reported in 1928 in Chicago were reported by the United Charities. This may be owing to the fact that the United Charities receives the bulk of the out-of-town inquiries and similar types of work that are usually counted as minor-care or it may be due to a more rigid interpretation by this agency of what constitutes a major-care case. The great weakness of family welfare statistics at the present time is the vagueness of the concepts major-care and minor-care. It is not impossible, for example, that in reality the number of minor-care cases worked on by the United Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau are not vastly different but that a radically different understanding of the dividing line between the two types constitutes the real reason for the difference in the figures. An actual comparison of the case load of these two organizations in a typical month would be interesting in order to determine whether the figures in this category reflect actual facts or whether they reflect merely differences in statistical interpretation.

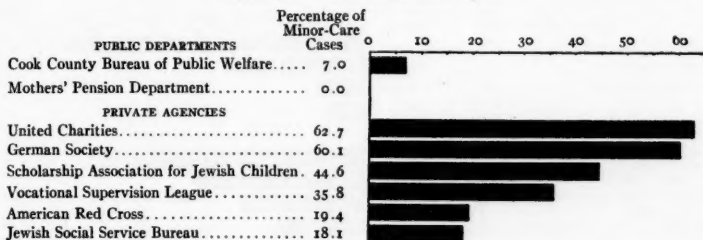
The percentage of minor-care cases in the average number of cases worked on each month is shown in Chart III. Thus the United Charities, which on the preceding chart was shown to have 28.5 per cent of all cases under care, appears here to have a very high proportion of minor-care cases—in fact 62.7 per cent of all cases worked on each month were minor-care. Only 18.1 per cent of the cases worked on each month by the Jewish Social Service Bureau were minor-care. The German Society shows 60.1 per cent of its cases as

minor-care, the Scholarship Association for Jewish Children reported 44.6 per cent, and the Vocational Supervision League 35.8 per cent. The Mothers' Pension Division reported no minor-care cases and only 7 per cent of the cases worked on each month by the Cook County Bureau were reported as minor-care.

Chart IV shows the amount of relief given per major-care relief case. The reports secured from the Salvation Army, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and the Catholic Central Charity Bureau were not sufficiently detailed to make possible the computation of this figure for those agencies.

CHART III

PERCENTAGE OF MINOR-CARE CASES IN AVERAGE NUMBER OF CASES WORKED ON PER MONTH BY AGENCIES FOR FAMILY AND EX-SOLDIER WELFARE AND RELIEF IN CHICAGO DURING 1928



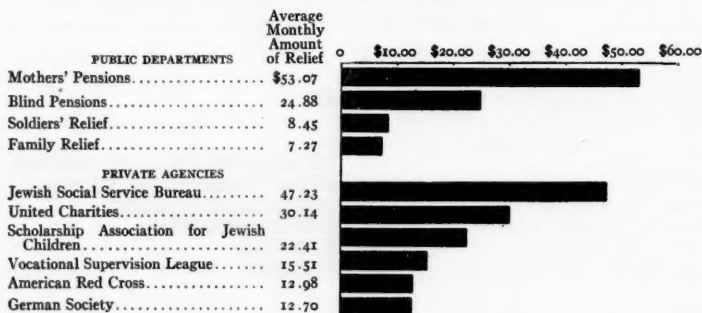
An average of 8,993 major-care cases per month received relief. The relief averaged \$21.19 a relief case. The Mothers' Pension Division manifested the greatest liberality in relief, the average being \$53.07 a case. In spite of this high figure, the amounts given per case by the Cook County Bureau were so small that the average for the two public organizations is lower than the average for the private agencies. The average for the public agencies is \$19.08, as compared with \$31.67 for the private. The Cook County Bureau was more generous to its blind pensioners than to the ex-service cases or to the family cases. The blind cases received an average of \$24.88 a month as compared with \$8.45 received by the ex-service cases and \$7.27 received by the family cases.

The amount of relief per major-care relief case given by the Jewish Social Service Bureau was \$47.23, which is the highest of the private agencies in this respect. The United Charities was second

with an average expenditure per case of \$30.14. The expenditures for the other private societies per case were as follows: Scholarship Association for Jewish Children, \$22.41; Vocational Supervision League, \$15.51; American Red Cross, \$12.98; German Society, \$12.70. Thus the average expenditure per relief case in all private societies was higher than in the Cook County Bureau's family department. It should be pointed out in this connection that the Scholarship Association for Jewish Children and the Vocational

CHART IV

AVERAGE MONTHLY AMOUNT OF RELIEF PER MAJOR-CARE RELIEF CASE GIVEN DURING 1928 BY AGENCIES FOR FAMILY AND EX-SOLDIER WELFARE AND RELIEF IN CHICAGO



Supervision League are interested primarily in supplementing family incomes to enable children to continue in school who would otherwise be obliged to take out work papers. Their relief, therefore, seldom represents a total family budget, but is, for the most part, supplementary to an inadequate family income.

The average amount of relief per month given to minor-care cases was only \$1,011.74 for all agencies, or \$2.49 a case. The greater part of this sum was reported by the United Charities, which averaged \$779.66 a month for minor-care cases with an average expenditure of \$2.89 a case. The Jewish Social Service Bureau shows a smaller expenditure—only \$108.10 a month—but a much higher average expenditure per case—\$5.41. The public bureaus reported no minor-care cases receiving relief. The Mothers' Pension Division reported no minor-care cases at all and the small number reported by the Cook

County Bureau were not relief cases. It would be interesting to study the files of the Cook County Bureau to determine whether most of their cases actually are major-care cases. While the amount of relief per case is not necessarily an indication that cases receive minor-care, still when the average for the case load is so small, it does seem reasonable to assume that the average is pulled down to this low point by certain cases which receive only small occasional relief. Such cases might still deserve to be counted as major-care if the case-work attention they received warranted the major-care classification, but if a case receives so little relief that it could not be considered an allowance case (which implies previous study and diagnosis) and if it receives care that is not characterized by thorough social diagnosis and planned treatment, then it cannot legitimately be called major-care. The report of the Cook County Bureau is therefore comparable only in case its major-care cases conform to this standard.

The peak of relief in 1928 was reached in the month of February, as is indicated by Chart V. The public agencies expended in that month \$173,642¹ and the private \$66,859. These figures, however, do not include the Salvation Army, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, or the Catholic Central Charity Bureau. Relief reached its lowest ebb in the private agencies in July, but in the public agencies not until August, the expenditure in that month falling just short of \$96,000. In December the private agencies expended for relief almost as much as in the preceding January—roughly \$56,000. The public agencies on the contrary expended only \$130,000 in December, as compared with \$170,000 in the preceding January—a difference of \$40,000.

Chart VI shows intake as a percentage of cases carried over on the first of the month. These percentages throw light on the rapidity of turnover in the major-care category. As might be expected, the Mothers' Pension Division, which has a small intake and carries cases for long periods of time, shows the smallest percentage. Likewise the Scholarship Association for Jewish Children and the Vocational

¹ This figure does not include the blind relief of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, which was not reported on a monthly basis. The amounts expended for blind relief appear to be reasonably constant from month to month and would therefore not materially affect the slope of the curve for the public agencies.

CHART V

AMOUNT OF RELIEF GIVEN BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES FOR FAMILY
AND EX-SOLDIER WELFARE AND RELIEF IN CHICAGO IN EACH MONTH
OF THE YEAR 1928

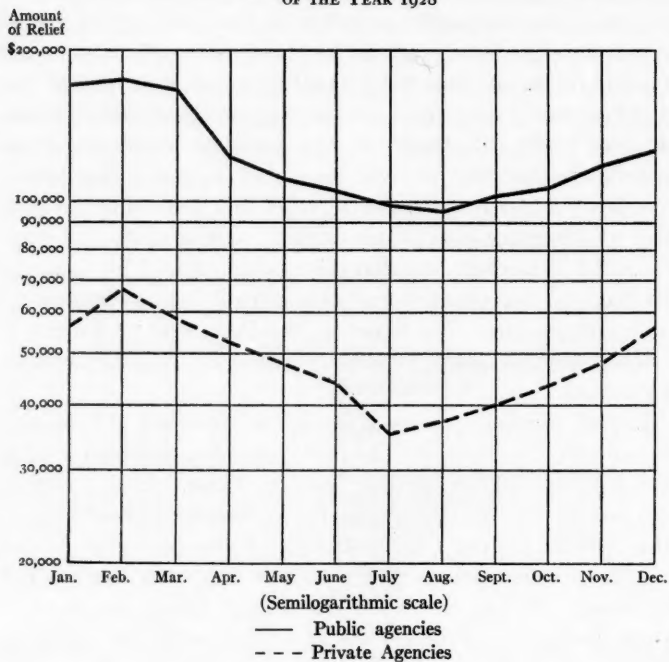
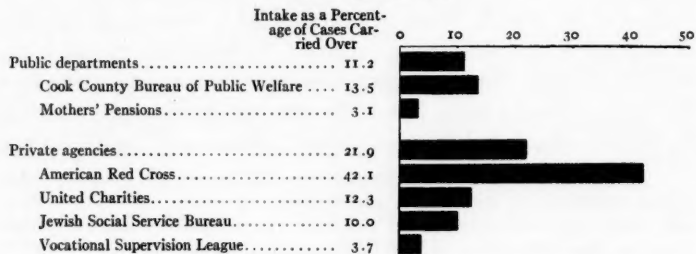


CHART VI

INTAKE AS A PERCENTAGE OF CASES CARRIED OVER ON THE FIRST OF THE MONTH
BY AGENCIES FOR FAMILY AND EX-SOLDIER WELFARE AND RELIEF
IN CHICAGO DURING 1928



Supervision League, both of which have small intakes and carry cases for long periods of time, have low percentages in this table. The figure for all private agencies is 21.9 per cent, or nearly twice that of the public agencies—11.2 per cent. Although the figure for all private agencies would indicate that their rate of turnover is higher than in the public agencies, the figure for three of the six private agencies¹ is smaller than that of the Cook County Bureau. The figures for the United Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau are 12.3 and 10 per cent, respectively. The Red Cross, with a more rapid turnover, shows 42.1 per cent.

The average number of major-care cases taken under care per month was 1,762, of which 997 came to the public and 765 to the private agencies. The large intake of the public bureaus came primarily to the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, which reported 934 cases a month, or more than half of the total for the city, while the Mothers' Pension Division reported an average intake of only 63 a month, or 3.6 per cent of the total.

Of the private organizations, more than half of the intake came to the American Red Cross, which, with an average intake of 461 a month, accepted slightly more than a fourth of the entire intake of the city. The United Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau show average monthly intakes of 144 and 117, respectively.

The foregoing data are typical of similar tabulations that are being made in the field of child welfare, hospital in-patient service, and a score of related services. In some fields the figures are incomplete, and in others their accuracy is dubious. Notwithstanding these limitations, the compilation in its entirety constitutes an important development and will serve, it may be hoped, as the foundation for a useful and significant service.

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¹ This figure was not computed for the German Society because the average number of cases which this organization carried over on the first of the month was less than 100.

SOURCE MATERIALS

SOME ILLINOIS COUNTY POOR RELIEF RECORDS

1837-60

EDITORIAL NOTE

THE principles and methods of caring for the destitute in the early days of Illinois Territory or the Northwest Territory included, first, attempting to enforce support by the relatives in accordance with an act adopted by the governor and judges in 1795 and embodied in the first poor laws (pauper acts) of the state, namely, those of 1819 and 1827. For example, the Clinton County Board in 1830 notified a citizen of that county that "supplying one's father and mother with the necessities of life was a duty not only from the ties of nature but of law also." Second, the apprenticeship of children (boys until twenty-one years of age, girls until eighteen) was authorized by these territorial acts also; and not only children but adults were "bound out" to be fed, clothed, and worked. Farming out to the lowest bidder at an annual public sale was authorized after 1799, although relief from the county treasury for impotent persons who had no relatives able to support was authorized after 1827; and after 1835 the county towns were authorized to build or procure workhouses for the accommodation and employment of those who were county charges. In this act the duty was laid on the overseers of the poor "diligently to inquire after all persons unable to earn a living because of an unavoidable cause, and to place them in the care of moral and discreet householders of sufficient ability to provide for them." This person was to give bond to treat the poor person "humanely and to give them the necessary care and comforts of life, taking into consideration the state and condition of the pauper, and his capacity to work," and to justify this care the overseers were to compensate them adequately. After 1839 the establishment of poorhouses was authorized, and in a county in which there was a poorhouse the "farming out" was to be resorted to only in exceptional cases for

special reasons. There were other acts in 1841, and the law was revised in 1845, without, however, substantial change with reference to methods of care. In 1851 an act providing for township organization was passed, which led during the next few years to a number of local acts making the care of the poor conform to the new organization. The entry of May 18, 1852, in the Kane County records illustrates this point.

In the following pages the entries from the manuscript record books of two Illinois counties showing the action taken by the authorities in the relief of the poor are given for a period of years: (1) those from Champaign County, the county court record between December 5, 1837, and December 6, 1859; and (2) those from Kane County from March 7, 1837, to April, 1855. Of the two county organizations it may be recalled that Champaign County was organized in 1833 and governed by a court of county commissioners until they were superseded by the county court under the constitution of 1848. The county court managed county affairs until 1859, when township organization was adopted. Until 1858 the care of the infirm paupers was let by contract to the lowest bidder or payments were made to relatives or other persons caring for them. In 1858, at a time of rapid increase in population, eight acres were bought in the township of St. Joseph for a poor farm. This proved too distant from the county seat, and in 1865 property near the courthouse was purchased. In 1910 this building was replaced by a new one.

Kane County was at first a part of LaSalle County and was separately organized January 16, 1836, and contained what was afterward divided into Kane and DeKalb counties with a part of what is now Kendall. The boundaries of today were fixed in 1837 (i.e., February 9 and March 4). There again the authority granted to establish a poor farm was taken advantage of, and in November, 1857, action was taken looking toward that end. February 12, 1852, an agent was appointed to buy a farm (see items under date of February 12, 1852; May 18, 1852, first entry; September 17, 1852, first entry); and actions concerned first with the administration and then with the disposition are found until March and April, 1855, when entries concerned with its sale or lease occupy the commissioners, finally leaving the entire responsibility with the committee on paupers and on the county farm.

It will be noted that in both counties the periods during which the following entries were made were prior to the establishment of the poorhouse, or during the period when the use of the poor farm was just being tried. There are among the Champaign County entries illustrations of (a) compelling a brother to give support (see December 1, 1851); (b) payments to relatives or perhaps to the lowest bidder (see December 5, 1837, both entries; January 10, 1838; July 20, 1846; December 6, 1847, last entry); (c) apprenticeship (see March 7, 1841; September 4, 1843; March 4, 1845; June 3, 1851); (d) payment to relatives or caretakers (see March 4, 1844; December 9, 1844; December 3, 1849; March 4, 1850; March 5, 1850; June 3, 1851, both entries; June 18, 1851; September 7, 1859, ninth and tenth entries; December 5, 1859); (e) payment of medical expenses (see September 28, 1846); (f) payment of burial expenses (see September 6, 1847, first entry); (g) payment of deportation costs (see December 6, 1847, first entry); (h) ordinary relief (see October 13, 1849); (i) payments for expenses connected with the erection, repair, and administration of the new poorhouse (see September 5, 1859; September 7, 1859; October 3, 1859; December 6, 1859).

The Kane County orders, as in the case of the Champaign County orders, include those (a) compelling relatives to give support (see September 5, 1848); (b) making payments to a caretaker (see March 7, 1837; March 6, 1838; April 5, 1838; June 4, 1838; September 3, 1838; December 4, 1838; March 5, 1839; June 3, 1839; September 3, 1839; September 7, 1839); (c) the appointment of county agent (see March 5, 1838; September 2, 1844; December 8, 1847, second and third entries); (d) providing medical attendance (see September 7, 1839; June 1, 1840; December 12, 1840; March 7, 1843; March 6, 1844, second entry); (e) requiring evidence as to the estate of a deceased pauper (December 8, 1840); (f) payment for burial expenses (see December 12, 1840; June 7, 1841); (g) payment for the care of a pauper in the "Retreat for the Insane" (see March 7, 1848; March 7, 1849); (h) payment for cutting wood for Widow S—— (June 6, 1848); (i) removing non-residents to the counties of their proper residence (see March 23, 1853).

S. P. B.

From the Champaign County Court Records, 1837-61

December 5, 1837.—Ordered that Alexander Shaw have an order to the County Treasury for the sum of \$12.18 in full for the keeping of J—— H——, a pauper, since the twentieth day of October last.

Israel Knapp having agreed to keep J—— H—— for the term of six weeks at \$1.50 per week, it is ordered that he receive said H—— and if he keeps him well for said term we agree to make an order for \$9.00 in favor of I. Knapp.

January 10, 1838.—The keeping of J—— H—— was then cried, whereupon Lewis Adkins being the lowest bidder agreed to keep him one year, furnishing him all the necessaries required by his situation and receive therefor, an order to the County Treasury for \$100. Nevertheless if the said H—— should die, previous to the expiration of said term of one year, or be removed from the custody of said Adkins by order of the court, or otherwise, then the said Adkins shall receive pay only the time he actually kept said H—— at the rate of \$100 per annum.

March 7, 1841.—John Brownfield, Esq. now came forward and represented to the Court that Mary Jane M——, a poor female child supposed to be six years old, daughter of C—— M——, is likely to become a county charge, being deserted and neglected by her father, and on his motion said Mary Jane is by the Court bound by indenture to said John Brownfield, which said indenture is now on file as of record.

September 4, 1843.—It appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that Robert H. N——, a bastard child of Eliza Jane N——, is likely to become a county charge, the said Robert H. N—— is on motion bound by indenture to John B. Shepherd, which indenture is now on file as of record.

March 4, 1844.—Ordered that William H. Jackson have an order to the Treasury for the sum of \$6.50 in full for keeping Robert H. N——, a poor child, three months.

December 9, 1844.—Robert Bryan, who has for some time had the custody of Robert H. N——, a poor child, now came forward and asks the Court to defray the expense of clothing said child for the winter, and also the physician's bill already accrued, which is agreed to by the Court upon condition that R. Bryan will immediately have said child indentured to him and be ever hereafter answerable for all charges concerning said child during his minority.

March 4, 1845.—Nicholas Devore came and made application to have Robert H. N—— apprenticed to him, which is granted by the Court.

July 20, 1846.—Ordered that William W. Anderson have an order to

the County Treasury for the sum of \$5.50 in full for services in keeping B—, a pauper, as per bill.

September 28, 1846.—William D. Somers, Esq. presented a claim for medical services rendered Charles S. R—, deceased, to the amount of \$10.00, and the Court being thereof not sufficiently advised take time to counsel, the clerk is hereby authorized to draw an order in favor of said Somers in vacation, for the sum aforesaid when notified of the agreement therein, of the Court.

September 6, 1847.—Ordered that John S. Anderson have an order to the Treasury for the sum of \$6.00 in full for coffin for pauper as per bill.

Ordered that William Adams have an order to the Treasury for the sum of \$32.00 in full for keeping M—'s child up to this date as per bill.

December 6, 1847.—Wilson Lewis came and presented the receipt of Abram Vinsen for the sum of \$5.00 paid him by said Lewis on the part of Champaign County, for services rendered by A. Vinsen in conveying M—'s child to its father in the state of Indiana; therefore

Ordered that Wilson Lewis have an order to the Treasury for the sum of \$5.00 in full of cash paid Abram Vinsen.

Ordered that S. R. Blackmoor have an order to the Treasury for the sum of \$9.00 as per bill for keeping W—'s children.

October 13, 1849.—It being represented to the court that the family of one Henry K— is in a suffering condition by means of their inability to procure a stove or other means to warm the room they inhabit: and it appearing that a stove and proper cooking utensils including the necessary pipe can be procured from Mr. James S. Gere for the sum of \$20.07, it is ordered that the same be purchased and placed in the house of said K— to be used by him and his family during their present necessity. The ownership of said stove, however, is reserved to the County, and the same is to remain subject in all respects to the control of the authorities of the same.

Ordered that James S. and John Gere have an order to the Treasury for the sum of \$20.07 for a cooking stove and implements for use of Henry K—.

December 3, 1849.—Ordered that Nancy Poiner have an order to the Treasury for the sum of \$27.00 for keeping W—'s child nine months past as per bill.

March 4, 1850.—Benjamin C. Morris came and presented a bill for services in board, medical attendance, and funeral expenses of Daniel W—, a poor person deceased, to the amount of \$22.25. And the Court after hearing testimony considers that said Morris is justly entitled to receive pay for the coffin and shroud. It is therefore

Ordered that Benjamin C. Morris have an order to the Treasury for the sum of \$7.25.

March 5, 1850.—Ordered that Nancy Poiner have an order to the Treasury for the sum of \$9.75 for keeping W——'s child thirteen weeks at 75c per week as per bill.

June 3, 1851.—It having been represented to the Court that one Margaret M—— and her three children require the intervention of the public authority of the County in their behalf,

Ordered that bids will be received at the Court House in Urbana on the 18th inst. for the board and support of said Margaret and her youngest child, and that propositions will be received at the same time and place for the binding out of the two eldest children of said Margaret and that the clerk advertise the same.

June 18, 1851.—Whereupon it appearing to the Court that said Margaret and her children are not present, and it being shown to the Court that their present condition is not such as to require the enforcement of the Statutes in relation to paupers, the whole subject is dismissed without action.

December 1, 1851.—And now came Lemuel P—— (a poor person) and makes application to the Court to become a County charge; and it appearing to the Court that said Lemuel has a brother (Meredith P——) who is capable of maintaining said Lemuel, it is therefore ordered by the Court that said Meredith P—— be required to support his brother aforesaid. And the said Meredith coming into Court received in person the order of the Court herein.

September 5, 1859.—Ordered that the following orders be issued on the County Treasury for keeping paupers and repairs on Poor Farm, as per bill filed:

Geo. Ater, for keeping paupers	\$144.87
Same for repairs on Poor Farm	20.68

September 7, 1859.—On this day, the sealed proposals for the medical and surgical attendance on the paupers of the County at the Poor House, were opened, whereupon it appears to the Court, that Joseph F. Miller deposited a bid of \$80.00. That being the lowest bid, it is therefore

Ordered by the Court, that said practice be awarded to him; and it is further

Ordered by the Court, that the Clerk issue four \$20.00 orders on the County Treasury (one every three months) for the above sum of \$80.00.

Ordered that Park & Co., have an order on the County Treasury for \$43.51 in full for pauper bill, etc., as per bill filed.

Ordered that W. Teas have an order on the County Treasury for \$44.97, in full for lumber for Poor House, as per bill filed.

Ordered that Fielding Owen have an order on the County Treasury for \$30.00 for keeping Jesse S——, a pauper.

Ordered by the Court, that the Clerk advertise that Sealed Proposals will be received at the County Clerk's office, up to one o'clock on Tuesday of the December Term of this Court; for keeping the paupers of the County and renting the County Poor Farm, for the year commencing on the day of ——; and it is further

Ordered that the notice be published in the several papers of the County.

Ordered that Matthias Rinehart have an order on the County Treasury for \$12.50, for keeping Lemuel P——, a pauper, for the quarter ending at the present term of this Court, as per order entered of records at the June Term of this Court.

Ordered that George W. Burton have an order on the County Treasury for \$3.00 for groceries for paupers, as per bill filed.

October 3, 1859.—Ordered that John Coyd have an order on the County Treasury for \$23.12 for building addition to "Poor House" as per bill filed.

December 5, 1859.—Ordered that Fielding Owen have an order on the County Treasury for \$26.90, for keeping Jesse L——, the quarter ending at the present term, also for clothing etc. furnished as per bill filed.

December 6, 1859.—The Sealed Proposals for Keeping the Paupers of the County and renting the "Poor Farm," were now opened and examined, whereupon it appears to the Court that the following are the bids received, to wit:

Wm. H. Weber's bid is \$2.40 per week for keeping the paupers and \$3.00 per acre for the tillable land of the said "Poor Farm."

John Q. Smith's bid is \$2.00 per week for keeping the paupers and \$3.00 per acre for the land, and

George Ater's bid is \$2.00 per week for keeping the paupers, and \$3.00 per acre for the tillable land of said "Poor Farm"; and after due consideration of the matter aforesaid, it is

Ordered by the Court that the keeping of the paupers of the County and the tilling of the County "Poor Farm" be, and the same are hereby, awarded to George Ater for the year commencing on the first day of March, 1860.

[There are after this date a number of similar orders for various amounts to different persons "for pauper expenses, as per bill filed" and

"for keeping pauper, etc., as per bill filed," "for articles, etc. furnished paupers as per bill filed," or occasionally "For medical attendance on paupers as per bill filed."

Out of thirty-six orders issued at the February meeting of the Board of Supervisors in 1861, sixteen had to do with paupers either for keeping, for merchandise, for medical attendance, for medicine, or for burial expenses.]

From the Kane County Court Records 1836-55

March 7, 1837.—Ordered that Charles C. Morgan be allowed \$64.30 for boarding, taking care of, and bringing to this Court James McC—, a county pauper.

March 10, 1837.—Ordered that Ezra Gilbert be allowed \$3.00 for keeping James McC— four days, a county pauper.

Ordered that the first money coming into the Treasury be applied to the future support of James McC—, pauper.

Ordered that Christian Sackrider be allowed \$1.50 for conveying James McC—, pauper, to Mr. Haines.

May 30, 1837.—Ordered that Henry A. Miller be allowed \$2.00 for medical services rendered to J. McC—, pauper.

June 1, 1837.—Ordered that Aaron Haynes be allowed \$50.22, the amount due him on his contract for keeping James McC—, county pauper.

December 4, 1837.—Ordered that Hiram Parks be allowed \$26.00 for keeping Mr. W— and wife, county paupers, three weeks and furnishing medicine and carrying them to his house as per bill on file.

Ordered that Henry A. Miller be allowed \$14.00 for furnishing a room for the June Circuit Court and for visiting paupers at Dumes and Parks as per bill on file.

December 5, 1837.—Ordered that John Dumes be allowed \$101.50 for keeping James McC—, a pauper, twenty-nine weeks and furnishing him clothing.

December 6, 1837.—Ordered that Mark Danials and J. W. Churchill be hereby appointed agents to send James McC—, pauper, to his former residence and that they have the power to draw on the Treasury of this County for the necessary expenses.

February 9, 1838.—Ordered that Joseph W. Churchill and Mark Danials be allowed \$1.25 each for one-half day's service each in providing a place for Mr. W— and wife, paupers.

[Mark Danials and J. W. Churchill were county commissioners at that time.]

March 5, 1838.—Ordered that Nathan Collins be appointed agent for this County, and he is hereby authorized to make necessary contract for the support of Betty M—— and her family, paupers, and to draw upon the Treasury of this County for \$15.00 for that purpose.

March 6, 1838.—Ordered that Lathrop Olmsted be allowed \$6.00 for keeping James McC——, a pauper, one week and five days and to be paid out of the first money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Ordered that John Dun be allowed \$42.86 for keeping James McC——, pauper, ten weeks and five days from 6th of December, 1837, to 19th of February, 1838.

March 26, 1838.—Ordered that Nathan Collins be allowed to draw on the Treasury of this County for the sum of \$2.00 for the expenses of and support of Betty M——, a pauper.

April 5, 1838.—Ordered that Lathrop Olmsted be allowed \$14.00 for keeping James McC——, pauper, four weeks.

June 4, 1838.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$31.50 for keeping James McC——, pauper, nine weeks. [This is at the rate of \$3.50 a week.]

September 3, 1838.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$45.50 for keeping James McC——, pauper, thirteen weeks, which is in full to this date.

December 4, 1838.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$45.50 for keeping James McC——, pauper, thirteen weeks ending yesterday.

March 5, 1839.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$52.00 for keeping James McC——, pauper, thirteen weeks ending yesterday.

June 3, 1839.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$3.50 per week for keeping James McC——, a pauper, thirteen weeks from the first Monday of March to the first Monday of June, 1839.

September 3, 1839.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$3.00 per week for thirteen weeks for keeping James McC——, a pauper, up to the first Monday of September.

September 7, 1839.—Ordered that the following persons be allowed the sums set opposite their names for services rendered in taking care of Josiah W——, a sick and transient person: J. P. Keyser for provisions and attendance, \$15.00; Minard Fuson and Co. for board, etc., per bill, \$20.90; Nathan Collins for medical attendance, \$12.00.

December 3, 1839.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$3.00 per week for thirteen weeks for keeping James McC——, a pauper, up to the first Monday of December, instant.

March 2, 1840.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$39.00 for keeping James McC——, a pauper, thirteen weeks ending today.

March 4, 1840.—Ordered that this court allow Norman Peck \$2.75 per week for keeping James McC—, a pauper.

June 1, 1840.—Ordered that Elijah Lee be allowed \$9.00 for furnishing with medical attendance, nursing, and boarding Michael McM—, a pauper, thirteen days from 29th April to 12th May, 1840.

June 2, 1840.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$35.75 for keeping James McC— thirteen weeks ending yesterday.

September 21, 1840.—Ordered that Norman Peck be allowed \$41.25 for keeping James McC—, a pauper, fifteen weeks.

Ordered that Simeon Hotchkiss have the keeping of James McC—, a pauper, at \$1.75 per week agreeable to his proposal.

December 7, 1840.—Ordered that Simeon Hotchkiss be allowed \$17.50 for keeping James McC—, a pauper, to this date.

December 8, 1840.—Ordered that the clerk of this Court issue a citation or subpoena commanding Rice, Fay, James E. Parker, Nathan Pierce, Orren Pierce and Justus Showers to appear before this court on the 12th instant to testify what they know respecting a property of David H—, a deceased pauper.

December 12, 1840.—The following orders are found:

T. A. Ahuler \$ 7.75 for board of David H—, deceased pauper
 N. Collins 19.75 for medical attendance on David H—, deceased pauper
 John Kitridge 59.54 for funeral expenses of David H—, deceased pauper
 L. P. Whipple 12.00 for medical attendance on David H—, deceased pauper

March 1, 1841.—Ordered that Simeon Hotchkiss be allowed \$21.00 for keeping James McC— twelve weeks.

March 3, 1841.—Ordered by the consent of Stephen Archer that he have the keeping of James McC—, a pauper, to the next term of this Court, at ninety-four cents per week.

June 7, 1841.—Ordered that Peter I. Burchell be allowed \$42.50 for funeral expenses and keeping Michael B—.

June 8, 1841.—Ordered that Stephen Archer be allowed \$12.22 for keeping a pauper three months up to the 8th of June, 1841.

Ordered that, by the consent of Stephen Archer, he have the keeping of James McC— to the next term of this court, at ninety-four cents per week.

[Orders for small amounts for medical attendance.]

June 9, 1841.—Ordered that Wm. R. Powers be allowed \$4.87 for keeping C. H—, a pauper.

September 7, 1841.—Ordered that Stephen Archer be allowed \$12.18 for keeping James McC—, a pauper, to this date.

Ordered that Nathaniel Ladd have the keeping of James McC—, a pauper, for the term of six months from date on his paying the sum of \$2.00 into the County Treasury on the expiration of six months.

December 6, 1841.—Ordered that Wm. R. Powers consenting thereto that said Powers have the keeping of Duncan C—, a pauper, to the next term of this court at \$1.94 cents per week.

Ordered that Thomas Davis be allowed \$14.00 for keeping Duncan C—, a pauper, seven weeks to this date.

December 7, 1841.—Ordered that Loran Inman be allowed \$4.50 for keeping Widow B—'s children, paupers.

March 7, 1842.—Ordered that Wm. R. Powers have the keeping of Duncan C—, pauper, at thirty-eight cents per week, till next term.

Allowed Powers \$25.18 for keeping C— to this date.

December 6, 1842.—Ordered that Nathaniel Ladd be allowed \$3.50 for keeping James McC—, a pauper, to this time.

Ordered that Wm. R. Powers have the keeping of James McC—, a pauper, at \$1.00 per week until next term.

March 7, 1843.—Ordered that Wm. R. Powers be allowed \$13.00 for keeping James McC— thirteen weeks to this date and \$5.00 for medical attendance and clothing for him.

Ordered that Elijah Lee by his consent have the keeping of James McC—, a pauper, one year at fifty-six cents per week.

March 18, 1843.—Ordered that James Hotchkiss be allowed the sum of \$15.00 for keeping John S— and finding him clothes, said S— lately a pauper of this County.

June 6, 1843.—Ordered that Wm. G. Webster be allowed \$9.75 per bill on file for keeping John S—, a pauper.

July 3, 1843.—Ordered that Elijah Lee be allowed \$7.28 for keeping James McC—, a pauper, thirteen weeks per contract.

December 5, 1843.—Ordered that Elijah Lee be allowed \$14.56 for keeping James McC— to this date.

Ordered that Albert Hayden act with the justice of the peace of St. Charles Precinct and overseers¹ of the poor of said precinct.

Ordered that Wm. Armstrong be allowed \$5.00 in full for keeping Joshua T—, a pauper, to this time.

Ordered that David Dunham have the keeping of Duncan C—, a pauper, to the next term of this court at \$1.00 per week.

¹ [This appears to be the first use of the term "overseers of the poor."]

March 5, 1844.—Ordered that Albion Gilbert be allowed \$8.00 for keeping Catherine L—, an infant pauper, ten weeks per bill on file.

March 6, 1844.—Ordered that Elijah Lee be allowed \$7.25 for keeping James McC— thirteen weeks.

Ordered that Daniel D. Waite be allowed \$9.50 for medical attendance on Joshua T—.

Ordered that Wm. Armstrong be allowed \$16.35 for keeping Joshua T—.

Ordered that Elisha Freeman be allowed \$12.48 for clothing Joshua T—.

Ordered that Elijah Lee have the keeping of James McC— for the ensuing year at fifty-six cents per week, said Lee agreeing thereto.

Ordered that Wm. Armstrong have the keeping of Joshua T— until he shall leave this state, at \$1.25 per week.

June 3, 1844.—Lee allowed \$7.28 for keeping James McC— the last quarter.

Ordered that David Dunham be allowed \$13.00 for keeping Duncan C—, pauper, thirteen weeks.

[Similar orders not transcribed from this date on.—S. C. R.]

Expenses of the year ending the first Monday in June, A.D. 1844, for paupers, \$118.80.

September 2, 1844.—Ordered that Thomas H. Whittemore be appointed Overseer of the Poor in Deerfield Precinct in Kane County.

December 5, 1844.—Ordered that Wm. S. Peck be allowed \$7.00 for keeping Anna C—, a pauper, seven weeks ending tomorrow and that he have the keeping until next term of this court at \$1.00 per week.

March 4, 1845.—Ordered that the report of Thomas Whittemore and others, Overseers of the Poor, be accepted and approved.

Ordered that Albion Gilbert be allowed \$10.00 for keeping Caroline L—, an infant pauper.

Ordered that Wm. Kimball be allowed \$2.43 for goods furnished a pauper.

Ordered that Wm. R. Powers be allowed \$6.00 for keeping Ann R—, a pauper, and her child.

June 2, 1845.—Ordered that Stephen W— be allowed \$19.50 to be delivered to him in small orders to pay for his necessities up to this date, which is computed at seventy-five cents per week for six months past.

June 3, 1845.—Ordered that Simeon Hotchkiss be allowed \$2.00 for

keeping Jas. McC—— two weeks ending today and that he have the keeping of him one year at seventy-five cents per week.

Ordered that Elijah Lee be allowed \$2.50 for keeping James McC——, a pauper, two and a half weeks per bill on file.

December 2, 1845.—Ordered that Stephen W—— be allowed \$19.50 for his support as a pauper.

December, 1846.—[A number of orders of small amounts allowed "for goods furnished to a pauper" or "for goods furnished to paupers."]

March, 1847.—[Orders for amounts to four different persons "for keeping paupers."]

June 7, 1847.—Ordered that Myron Whipple be allowed \$46.00 for taking care of B. L.——, a lunatic, per bill on file.

June 8, 1847.—Ordered that J. Carlish be allowed \$25.00 for keeping, Phoebe D—— and her two children sixteen weeks, paupers, belonging to DeKalb County.

Ordered that Stevens and Gran be allowed \$8.67 for goods furnished by the order of Sill and McWayne, Overseers of the Poor at St. Charles, per bill on file.

Record of the County Commissioners of Kane County, September Term, 1847 [a copy of a bond executed by Henry C. Hines that he would properly care for "Richard H——, a pauper afflicted with a bodily infirmity"].

December 8, 1847.—Ordered that Stevens and Gran be allowed \$28.43 for goods and groceries furnished Mrs. W——, a pauper in St. Charles Precinct, as certified by Alex. V. Gill, J. P., in said precinct.

[Several similar items are omitted.]

Ordered that Thomas H. Thompson of Dundee be appointed Poor Master in Dundee Precinct to serve as Poor Master until his successor be appointed.

[Appointments made also for Elgin Precinct and for Aurora Precinct.]

March 7, 1848.—Ordered that the bill this day presented by Dr. E. Mead for treatment of Mrs. O——, pauper, in the Chicago Retreat for the Insane from 29 December, 1847, to 29 March, 1848, be allowed. Amount of bill \$52.00.

June 5, 1848.—Ordered that the clerk of this court be requested to notify Thomas H. Thompson, Esq., Poor Master in Dundee Precinct, to take charge of Mrs. O——, pauper, now at the house of Lawson Butler and provide for her comfort and charge the expenses to the County.

June 6, 1848.—Ordered that the bill presented this day by A. Carpenter for furnishing and cutting wood for Widow S—— from November

1, 1847, to April 1, 1848, be allowed. Amount of bill \$5.00 as certified by A. V. Sill, Justice of the Peace in St. Charles Precinct.

[There are many such bills.]

June 7, 1848.—Ordered that Thomas A. Scott be allowed \$3.00 for services rendered as Poor Master in case of Widow H—— as per bill, \$3.00.

[There are many such bills.]

September 5, 1848.—Ordered that the clerk of this Court do notify Isaac W—— to provide and take care of his mother, who has become a county charge, in default whereof he will be proceeded against according to law—said W——'s mother now lives in Hampshire Precinct in Kane County and is residing with her husband Stephen W——.

Ordered that T. H. Whittemore, Esq. do furnish Stephen W—— with the needful clothing and food for his comfort and charge the same to Kane County, said W—— being a county pauper in said county.

March 7, 1849.—Ordered that Thomas H. Thompson have Mrs. O——, an insane pauper, sent to the Chicago Retreat to be cared for at \$4.00 per week, and County Commissioners' Court to pay the bill each quarter.

October 30, 1849.—[Pages 208-10 have lists of bills of the county commissioners court honored in connection with support of paupers.]

Ordered that the bills presented and certified to by Thomas H. Thompson, Poor Master in Dundee Precinct, be allowed the amount certified to in each bill to wit [Then follows list of bills chiefly small for other poor masters].

June, 1850.—Board of Supervisors: "Resolved that the Overseer of the Poor of Dundee Township be required to procure a suitable place for Mrs. O——, now in the Insane Asylum of Dr. Mead of Chicago, provided he can do so at a less expense to the County than is now allowed Dr. Mead."

November 13, 1850.—Ordered that the Overseers of the Poor in the several towns in this County keep a true and correct record of the names, age, and condition of all paupers applying for relief and all details in supplying the same.

[The remaining pages in the record book may be briefly summarized: Pages 23 to 28 contain a list of the amounts allowed in the various towns for pauper expenses, such as Dundee, \$180.14; St. Charles, \$66.91; Batavia, \$114.05; Aurora, \$67.26; Rutland, \$34.75; Blackberry, \$2.50; and others. The total for the county was \$758.89.

The Board of Supervisors referred all bills for assisting paupers to a

Committee of Poor Bills, which committee reports all the bills it sanctions, at one time (see pp. 51-53).

On September 9, 1851, a Committee was appointed "to report rules to the overseers of the poor." On September 11, the Committee made its report, which included such items as "every overseer must get full information for applications for relief regarding the pauper and his relatives, how they came to Kane County, etc."; the overseers "must not certify physician's bill (except in extreme cases) unless they order the physician to attend upon the case"; overseers "shall determine the proper boarding-places"; "uniform books shall be kept supplied by Board of Supervisors"; and the Committee recommended that the Board audit no accounts not in conformity with the foregoing regulations.

No action is reported on this report.

Pauper bills were ordered paid from towns varying from \$3.50 for Geneva to \$401.13 for Elgin.]

November 15, 1851.—[A resolution was passed to appoint a committee to "select and receive proposals for the purchase of a suitable poor farm . . . for the residence of the paupers of this county." "And also that said committee be authorized to receive proposals from individuals for the keeping and boarding of any part or all of the paupers of this county and that they report such proposals to the next meeting of this board."]

February 12, 1852.—[The Committee recommended buying the farm of Elijah Lee at Geneva, and an agent was appointed to do so and to spend not more than \$1,800 in fitting it up for a "poor farm."]

May 18, 1852.—[A committee reported regarding the managing of the poor farm. They recommended that it be placed under the control of three supervisors. Many details regarding accounts were also recommended. All permanent paupers were to be sent there. The town overseers could not spend more than \$10 without the consent of one of these three supervisors.

"Resolved that in the opinion of this Board, a Township organization law should be so amended as to require each town in Kane County to be at the expense of supporting its own poor." This resolution carried by a vote of 8 to 7, and the voting seemed to vary according to whether there were heavy or light pauper expenses in the various towns represented.¹

A committee was appointed to make necessary arrangements.]

September 17, 1852.—[The Report of the Superintendents of Kane County Poor states: "Also that we did advertise to receive proposals

¹ [This was passed the following year. See *Laws of Illinois* (1853), pp. 275-76.]

for a suitable person for Keeper of Said House. Also that on the 15th day of June, last, we made a contract with Mr. James Hotchkiss, keeper of said County Poor House and would refer you to the contract on file."

"We also agreed with Dr. LeBowen as a physician, at a rate of \$16.66 per quarter or \$50.00 for nine months, should he be so long employed."]

September 24, 1852.—Ordered that Charles Patten be allowed \$10.00 for money lent to convey a pauper out of the County. And also R. C. Mix be allowed \$2.00 for the same purpose.

December 16, 1852.—[The Report of Superintendent of the Poor showing that there were then on the Poor Farm thirteen persons, seven adults and six children.]

March 23, 1853.—Ordered that \$10.00 be appropriated for the purpose of sending the B—— family to New York, now inmates of the Poor Farm.

November 15, 1853.—[The Chairman read a communication that the law of February, 1853, regarding the support of the poor by each town, was in force.]

November 17, 1853.—[The Rules for the management of the Poor Farm are found under this date. The Board of Supervisors are to elect one of their number to be styled "Superintendent of the County Farm." It was to be his duty to let the County Farm "as he may deem most to the interest of the County and in the contract for such letting, provision shall be made for the support and maintenance of the paupers"—each town to pay pro rata for the care of the paupers it sent. There are many other regulations given.]

March 9, 1854.—The Lease of the Poor Farm was read. Ordered that the course of Mr. Moore in regard to leasing the County Farm be approved by the Board.

March 20, 1855.—[The County Agent was authorized to lease or sell the Poor Farm and that "leasing the Poor Farm be approved by the Board."]

April, 1855.—[Committee on Paupers and County Farm reported recommending leasing it to Mr. Sperry on terms stated. After discussion the recommendation was withdrawn and the Committee was authorized to take charge of all the paupers sent to the County House and to lease the farm and take the whole supervision of the same "and make such contracts as they may think best for the maintenance of the poor."]

S. C. RATCLIFFE

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE National Conference of Social Work held its Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting at San Francisco early in the summer. The Conference program emphasized the problems of the West and provided an unusually able list of western speakers, including Secretary Ray Lyman Wilbur; Professor Jessica Peixotto, of Berkeley; Dr. Miriam Van Waters and Professor Bogardus, of Los Angeles; Dr. Stewart Burgess, of Peking; Mrs. Anna M. Saylor, the new public welfare commissioner of California; Miss Margaret Reeves, the public welfare commissioner of New Mexico; Professor Philip A. Parsons, of Oregon; and Professor Max S. Handman, of Texas. As a result of the reawakening of the interest of the social worker in the problem of the Indian, which has been one of the substantial results of Lewis Meriam's report for the Institute of Government Research, a special committee on the American Indian has been created, which will have the status of a temporary division for the next two years. Old members of the Conference will recall that in the earlier conferences there were committees on the Indian and the African. In recent years Division X (on the immigrant) hospitably admitted the Negro to its program, but it was strange indeed to find the division on the immigrant finding a place for the Indian!

On the business side the by-laws were amended to provide for a new program committee and for the abolition of plural or institutional voting. The plan adopted at Memphis of determining the place of meeting two years in advance was followed for the first time, and the Time and Place Committee reported in favor of Boston and Minneapolis for the next two meetings. The 1930 Conference will be held in Boston from June 7 to 14. The new officers for 1930 include the following: president of the Conference, Dr. Miriam Van Waters, referee of the Los Angeles Juvenile Court, who was elected by one vote over her opponent, C. M. Bookman, director of the Community Council of Cincinnati; the three vice-presidents who were unopposed, Karl de Schweinitz, of the Family Welfare Society of Philadelphia, Rose McHugh, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Walter Whitson, of the Family Service Society of Houston; members of the executive committee, Bradley Buell, of New Orleans, Edith Burleigh, of Los Angeles, Margaret Rich, of New Orleans, Mrs. Eva Whiting White, of Boston, and Otto Bradley, of Minneapolis.

The new chairmen of the various divisions of the Conference are as follows: division on children, Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, of New York; on delinquents and correction, George W. Kirchwey, of New York; on health, Dr. Ira Hiscock, of New Haven; on the family, Paul L. Benjamin, of Louisville; on industrial and economic problems, Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, of Chicago; on neighborhood and community life, Mrs. Robert A. Woods, of San Diego; on mental hygiene, Bertha Reynolds, of Northampton; on public officials and administration, Richard K. Conant, of Boston; on the immigrant, Mrs. Adena Miller Rich, of Chicago; on professional standards and education, Frank J. Bruno, of St. Louis; on educational publicity, Charles C. Stillman, of Columbus.

THE annual business meeting of the American Association of Social Workers in San Francisco was largely devoted to the recommendations of the Committee on the Revision of Membership Requirements. A convenient summary of "points for special consideration in connection with the report of the Committee on Membership Requirements," which was placed in the hands of each member, seems important enough to be reprinted here:

- A. The Committee set up no standards of personality and conduct. These remain as they have always been stated in the Constitution.
- B. Hence, the report deals *only* with standards of education and experience.
- C. Standards are subject to change; and the Committee believes that the National Membership Committee must continue to be the arbiter of the terms "approved social agency," "approved college," and "approved school of social work."
- D. Principles upon which the report is based.
 - 1. Experience *alone* is not a sufficient qualification for either class of membership.
 - 2. An academic degree *alone* is not sufficient.
 - 3. Professional education for social work should consist of four elements:
 - a) Completion of a Junior College course, and in addition—
 - b) Some biological and social science;
 - c) Some technical and vocational courses;
 - d) Field work.
 - 4. Field work is defined as practice undertaken under the direction of an approved college or school of social work.
 - 5. Full membership requirements should be based upon and should include the Junior Membership requirements.
 - 6. Experience as a paid employee of an approved social agency should be under most conditions a prerequisite for *full* membership.

7. Some channel should be retained for the special admission of persons who have demonstrated qualities of leadership in social work, but who cannot qualify under the educational requirements.

The members present were clearly impressed by the efforts of the Committee, which had been at work under the leadership of Mr. Bruno and Miss Colcord for a period of two years. After a vigorous discussion and after changing the words "Field Work" to "Field Instruction" the Association voted to adopt the principles submitted in the foregoing form by the Committee. With regard to the constitutional changes necessary to carry out the proposed "principles," agreement was finally secured by the proposal of Mr. Lurie that the Executive Committee of the Association be empowered to recommend to the Christmas meeting the final form of the changes in the Constitution and By-Laws.

The discussion showed the members again divided on the subject of professional education versus apprenticeship training, and the increase in the number of members who believe in the value of proper educational preparation for social work was a source of great encouragement.

IN CONTINUATION of the discussion raised in the *Compass* about social workers and the public support of political candidates, attention has been called to the increasing number of social workers in the civil service and other public posts. If the public-welfare services are to be kept "out of politics," that is, free from political control and political manipulation, it is imperative that workers holding these positions, including heads of departments and chiefs of divisions, should themselves refrain from political activity. Members of the federal classified civil service are prevented by statute from engaging in all forms of political activity except voting, and this is also true and ought to be true in many of the states with reference to state civil service. Our attention has been called to the fact that not only our earlier editorial but the special discussion of this subject in the San Francisco Conference entirely overlooked this important point. The chiefs of scientific bureaus in the public-welfare field are especially in danger of being called on for political service whereas a scientific bureau in entomology, for example, will not be molested. While it is a matter of regret that the public social worker cannot participate as he or she would like in the political fray, abstention from election activity is necessary to protect the public professional social services. Some sacrifice is necessary for many kinds of work, and this is one which should not be overlooked if the public services are to be strengthened and kept free from party control.

THE examination and certification of social workers which was provided for in the California assembly bill is a very interesting and important proposal in spite of the fact that it was not finally enacted into law. The proposed "act to promote the better education of social workers; to provide for and regulate the examination of social workers; to provide for the issuance of licenses as social workers to qualified applicants by the department of social welfare" contained the following provisions which members of the American Association of Social Workers will be interested to study:

SECTION 1. The state department of social welfare is hereby authorized to issue certificates as registered social workers upon application and examination as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 2. The term "social worker," as used in this act, is hereby defined to mean and include any person who is now or has been or will be engaged in social case work, including those doing case work for any and all classes of social dependents or juvenile delinquents or in medical social work or in performing any one or more or all such functions.

SEC. 3. Each applicant for examination for a certificate as registered social worker must be at least twenty-one years of age and must have received training or have completed a course of instruction in social service work approved by the department, or must be a social worker as defined in section 2 of this act, who has been engaged in social work for three years and presents satisfactory credentials as to character and experience. In order to secure a certificate, each applicant who successfully passes the examination must pay to the department of social welfare a fee of ten dollars which shall be paid by said department into the general fund of the state treasury.

On or after January 1 of each year each registered social worker shall renew his or her certificate and pay the required renewal of one dollar. Every certificate that is not renewed will expire on the first day of March of each year and may not be renewed except upon the payment of lapsed fee.

SEC. 4. Examinations as provided for in this act shall be held at least every six months and at such times and places as the social welfare board shall direct and according to the rules and regulations of said board. Public notice of each examination shall be given by publishing the same at least two weeks prior to the date for the examination in two or more newspapers of general circulation in the state.

SEC. 5. Examinations, which shall be written or oral or both, shall be conducted by a special committee of seven examiners to be appointed by the director of the department of social welfare at least thirty days prior to the examination, under such rules and regulations as shall be prescribed by the social welfare board. Such examiners shall be paid their necessary traveling expenses. Whenever an examination is conducted by such examiners, the examiners shall

report upon the examinations of all applicants and render to the department of social welfare within ten days thereafter a report of the same in such form as may be prescribed by the social welfare board. After a consideration of the findings of the examination committee the social welfare board shall pass or reject all applicants. The department shall issue to each successful applicant a certificate as registered social worker. Oral examinations conducted in accordance with the provisions of this section prior to July 1, 1931, shall be practical in nature and every written examination conducted in accordance with this section shall be based upon a reading list, prescribed by the social welfare board and publicly announced at or before the time of announcement of the examination. Examination papers shall be open to inspection of candidates who participated in such examination, or their properly authorized representatives.

SEC. 6. The social welfare board shall have power to revoke any such certificate of registration for unprofessional conduct after a full and fair investigation and the hearing of written charges preferred against the accused, a copy of which charges together with written notice of the time and place of hearing shall be served upon the accused not less than ten days prior to the hearing.

THOSE who have been struggling with the problem of educational standards in the new profession of social work will be interested in the evidence at hand, showing that similar difficulties still confront one of the oldest of the professions. In the *Annual Review of Legal Education* for 1928, published by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the subjects dealt with are (1) present-day law schools, (2) essentials of a bar admission system, (3) registration of law students. Marked changes are recorded in the requirements of the schools. For example, in 1890 only 7 out of 66 schools had a three-year course, none required any college work, and many did not require high school graduation as a prerequisite for admission. In 1927 out of 176 law schools 166 had a three-year course and 100 had at least a nominal requirement of two years' college work. A feature of great interest to the student of social work is the fact that the standards of the great professional organization, the American Bar Association, and those laid down by the Association of Law Schools are now substantially identical. There are many problems in the legal profession similar to those discussed by social workers: the educational value of office or practical experience, the content of the preprofessional curriculum, the part-time schooling, etc. To be sure, there are the complications growing out of the differences between the educational requirements and the requirements for admission to practice which are fixed by different authorities in different states, but the social worker need not

feel any particular chagrin at this delay in final agreement on conditions of graduation from the schools and of admission to the association.

A CONFERENCE on the health and protection of children has been called by President Hoover to meet at the White House during the spring or summer of 1930. The text of the president's announcement as published in the *United States Daily* (July 3) is given below:

I have decided to call a White House conference on the health and protection of children. This conference will be comprised of representatives of the great voluntary associations, together with the Federal and State and municipal authorities interested in these questions. Its purpose will be to determine the facts as to our present progress and our future needs in this great field and to make recommendations for such measures for more effective official and voluntary action and their co-ordination as will further develop the care and protection of children.

The conference will not be assembled for another nine months or a year in order that there may be time for complete and exhaustive advance study of the facts and forces in progress, of the experience with the different measures and the work of the organizations both in voluntary and official fields.

In order that these determinations may be effectively made and intelligent presentation given at the conference, a series of committees will be appointed from the leaders in different national organizations and will be assisted by experts.

The subjects to be covered embrace problems of dependent children; regular medical examination; school or public clinics for children; hospitalization; adequate milk supplies; community nurses; maternity instruction and nurses; teaching of health in the schools; facilities for playgrounds and recreation; voluntary organization of children; child labor and scores of allied subjects.

To cover the expenses of the preliminary committees and the conference and follow-up work which will be required to carry out the conclusions of the conference, a sum of \$500,000 has been placed at my disposal from private sources.

This will be the first national conference held in review of this subject since the conference called by President Roosevelt in 1909. That conference resulted in a great impulse to social and protective activities in behalf of children.

It is proposed to include in the interested groups, the educational associations so far as education bears upon health and protection of child life. It is not the purpose of such efforts to invade or relieve the responsibilities of parents but to advance those activities in care and protection of children which are beyond the control of the individual parent.

I have communicated with a number of the larger voluntary bodies and public officials throughout the country and find they are unanimous in the belief that such a national review is urgently needed in order to establish a new platform for further advance, and they are in agreement with me in the necessity of

exhaustive examination of the whole situation and the preparation of material before such a conference is called if we are to secure effective results from the conference.

We as a nation are fundamentally concerned with reinforcement of the equality of opportunity to every child and the first necessity for equal opportunity and protection.

The secretary of the interior, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, and the secretary of labor, James J. Davis, will co-operate in the plans for the conference under a committee which includes among other members the following: Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau; Bailey Burritt, of the New York Association for Crippled Children; Henry Breckinridge, of New York; Judge Frederick P. Cabot, of the Boston Juvenile Court; Dr. S. J. Crumbine, director, of the American Child Health Association; Surgeon-General Hugh S. Cumming, of the United States Public Health Service; Lee K. Frankel, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; William F. Greene, of the American Federation of Labor; Dr. W. F. King, state health commissioner of Indiana; Mrs. Raymond Robins; Mrs. F. Louis Slade, of New York; Dr. William F. Snow, of the National Social Hygiene Association.

Social workers everywhere will welcome the president's announcement and appreciate the leadership given by the White House in this important field. Two decades have passed since the first so-called White House Conference was called by President Roosevelt. The great Washington meeting of 1919 was organized by the Children's Bureau at the request of President Wilson and was made possible by a grant from the President's special fund at the end of the so-called Children's Year.

THE dismissal of two members of the faculty of the University of Missouri because of the circulation of a questionnaire dealing with sex questions aroused widespread comment last spring. The following editorial on the subject of "Sex Questionnaires" from a recent number of the *Journal of Social Hygiene* is very helpful not only because of the light thrown on this particular situation but because of the discussion of the general limitations of the questionnaire method:

Uses and abuses of the questionnaire method of inquiry have been and still are the subjects of much discussion, heated and otherwise. At its best the method is none too satisfactory; at less than its best it is largely valueless and often a nuisance.

Leading questions influence their answer, sometimes to so great an extent as to make them scientifically unsound; hypothetical questions predicated on what the questionee "would do" in a given situation, unless adequately safe-

guarded result, largely, in guesses based on what he thinks he ought to do under the circumstances outlined. Experience has shown that oftentimes he does just the opposite when actually confronted with the conditions stated.

Two tests which seem basic for a sound questionnaire are: first, has it important scientific or sociological objectives and, second, are the questions so planned and arranged as to achieve these objectives if adequately answered? Other important considerations have to do with the age, education, environment, and social status of the group to be questioned. In so-called sex questionnaires the rather indefinable canons of good taste may be used, very properly, as additional criteria in measuring the wisdom of the proposed interrogations.

These tests and checks are essential and the failure to apply them renders the individual or group responsible for the questionnaire liable to charges of scientific negligence and social crudity—neither of which is a crime but both of which indicate lack of research technique and judgment. Nor is the plea of "academic liberty" a logical defense to these defects. Academic freedom should be used, just as is the case in other academic privileges, with due regard to the rights of the entire faculty and student body, to the reputation of the institution, and to the welfare of the community. As to this last group it is inevitable that publicity or gossip about sex conduct and prevailing views at a given college will affect the entire community status in the eyes of the general public.

During the past ten years, several striking examples have occurred of maladroit usage in questionnaire studies of sex in individual and community life. Some of these have violated one or all of the simple bases outlined above. They have started with prefatory paragraphs tending to bias the student for or against certain conditions or social institutions. They have included questions which plainly indicated the expected answers. They have asked other questions which might satisfy curiosity but are valueless as far as adducing scientific results is concerned; and still others which implied an indulgence in sexual promiscuity among those questioned. These interrogations and the practice of rather general distribution to as many as one thousand students have made such questionnaires potentially harmful to the group reached. In addition to this, however, they have been definitely detrimental to the social hygiene movement.

The confusion and misunderstanding brought about by the loose use of sex questionnaires initiated and circulated by immature or impetuous members of educational staffs, have done but little to add to the existing resources of so-called sex psychology and sociology.

In contrast we might call attention to the most valuable contributions made to these subjects by maturely guided and guarded questionnaire studies, the data from which continue to furnish source material of soundness and worth.

It may be well to point out, also, that the intramural circulation of a questionnaire and tabulation of the data have a tendency to link up all publicity concerning it with the institution where it is used. This is particularly true of so-called sex questionnaires. Just as the public speak familiarly of the Princeton

Tiger, the Yale Bulldog, the Florida 'Gator et cetera, so are they apt to remember and refer to the Blinkville Questionnaire. Its connotations, favorable or otherwise, make it either an asset or liability of real pertinence. And, all too often, thoughtless, unknowing, or malicious persons will say, "So *this* is the way social hygiene works?" Right here let us assert that the American Social Hygiene Association does not sponsor and never has sponsored any of these misguided research efforts. When such studies are undertaken they need to be planned with unusual care and foresight, and given the personal attention of investigators who know how to avoid all the pitfalls to which allusion has been made.

An important and increasing number of colleges and universities constantly are adding to the social hygiene content of various courses in their curricula, thus making for integration, rather than isolation, of sex education. This wise policy can be most effectively carried on with a minimum of publicity, particularly that type of publicity which promotes confusion among the students and misunderstanding on the part of their parents and the community as to the real aims of social hygiene education.

In several instances failure of honest but unfortunate efforts in this questionnaire field, have resulted in additional mischief and publicity because of the extreme action of presidents or trustees in dismissing faculty members rather than endeavoring to curb unwise or incompetent procedures in the name of science or sociology.

AN INTERESTING experiment in child care is being conducted by the first day nursery of Philadelphia, according to a recent issue of the *Child Welfare League of America Bulletin*. The nursery has sold its institutional plant and during the last year has been placing its children for day care in investigated and supervised foster-homes. In the period of a year the nursery investigated applications for aid for 362 children from 200 families. Of this number only 62 children from 30 families were placed for day care. To meet the needs of the remaining 170 families a variety of methods were used; many families were referred to other agencies especially adapted to deal with their difficulties; in some cases relatives were found who could care for the children; in other cases work was found for mothers where they could take their children with them, or fathers were helped to increase the family income; and in a few cases the experiment of giving relief in place of nursery care was tried. The nursery arranged to pay foster mothers 75 cents a day, or \$4.50 a week, for the care of a child—an amount which in cases in which there were several children at times exceeded the mother's earnings. In three families in which this situation occurred the plan of boarding the children at home was tried with good results, the mother in each case accepting the

condition that she should budget her finances and be under the same supervision as would be given to a foster-mother.

The article indicates that the year's experiment has shown that day care for children in foster-homes is desirable in certain cases and might well be tried by child-placing agencies since it is less expensive than full-time care, prevents the separation of mother and child, and safeguards the child who suffers from homesickness. The day-nursery care in lieu of relief is said to be an expensive and unwieldy way of dealing with family problems; and if the day nursery is to stand unchallenged, it must, whenever possible, find and remedy the factors that have caused the need for its services.

AN INTERESTING study of nearly 5,000 Negro school children in Atlanta, Georgia, has been published by the United States Public Health Service. Careful comparisons of various traits of physical development show that the urban Negro child in this important southern city is slightly below the rural child, and below the white urban child, except that the Negro girl shows greater and earlier physical development in comparison both with the white girl and the Negro boy.

Certain defects were studied in detail, although, unfortunately, the examinations were not sufficiently thorough to warrant accurate reports concerning such diseases as tuberculosis and syphilis. No racial comparisons of these defects are made, because "for valid comparison . . . it would be practically impossible to find two southern city groups of white and colored children with the same social and economic environment." As a result, except in cases in which comment has been added, the lay reader cannot judge which defects are above, and which below, the average. Dental defects are reported to be relatively very infrequent, 64 per cent of the Negro children having excellent or good teeth; there is a low incidence of heart disease, of speech and other nervous defects, and of skin disease; and there is a marked decrease in the severity of rachitic deformities as compared with a previous study in Baltimore. A high proportion of flat-foot was found, especially among girls; and one-third of the children were suffering from enlarged or diseased tonsils. A relationship is pointed out between the important physical defects and low intelligence, but this does not hold true for minor defects.

A RECENT account of the trachoma prevention work of the United States Public Health Service reminds one of the early and thrilling story of H. G. Wells called *The Country of the Blind*. The Health Service has for several years maintained trachoma hospitals in Kentucky,

Tennessee, and Missouri, with the financial and moral co-operation of those states. This will be of interest to social workers who have often thought of trachoma as an immigrant disease rather than one flourishing in native American regions like the Southern Mountains, which a few years ago threatened to become in fact the country of the blind.

Evidence which has accumulated as the work has progressed indicates that Missouri and Arkansas probably have as much trachoma as Kentucky had when the work began and that it exists to a dangerous extent in several other states. It is not uniformly prevalent throughout any state; some communities are heavily infected, while others are relatively or completely free from it. In many localities the trachoma work conducted by the Public Health Service has given the people their first view of public health work of any sort and their first idea of the possibility of disease prevention.

Resurveys conducted from time to time show the beneficial effect of this trachoma eradication work. In certain areas trachoma is about to become a thing of the past as a result of the work done in those areas within recent years.

The trachoma hospitals maintained by the Public Health Service have a fourfold function: First, the clinical treatment of trachoma for the purpose of preventing damage to sight and stopping the patient from being a spreader of the disease; second, a study of the disease itself, for the physicians engaged in this work are constantly on the alert for improved methods of diagnosis and treatment; third, the education of the patients in personal hygiene and disease prevention; fourth, the trachoma hospitals are centers for operations directed toward the eradication of this disease.

Certain counties have become almost trachoma-free, but in others the spread of the disease seems not to have ceased. The trachoma hospital of the Public Health Service located at Richmond, Kentucky, makes trachoma treatment available to an enormous area in eastern Kentucky where trachoma is still quite prevalent. This hospital is well equipped and can care for about thirty patients. On the day the hospital was opened a man was admitted who had been unable to work for three years on account of defective vision from trachoma. He had a wife and four children, the youngest of whom he had never seen. He was led into the hospital by a friend and was for all practical purposes completely blind. After three months' treatment he returned home with good working vision and when last heard from was earning \$100 a week as an expert machinist. This illustrates not only the humanitarian but the

economic value of this work. While this is one of the more spectacular cases, many patients are said to have been restored to economic usefulness to an extent that was surprising both to the patients and their families.

The records show that in the state of Missouri, which has a Blind Pension Law, 3,152 pensions were operative during one year at a cost to the state of \$200,000. Of these pensioners 637, or 20.2 per cent, were blind because of trachoma. The cost of this disease in pensions alone in Missouri was, therefore, more than \$40,000 in a single year.

THE French policy of giving relief of various kinds to large families, *les familles nombreuses*, has been commented on in these pages from time to time. Two of the last numbers of *Le Musée Social* contain accounts of an interesting development along the same line describing the aid given to public authorities and private associations which have for their purpose the provision of inexpensive housing for the working classes.

A law providing for public subsidies toward the construction of dwellings destined for the occupation of large families was passed in 1919. In France *une famille nombreuse* has been in the past a family with four children or more under the age of sixteen, and this definition is embodied in the statute referred to. The condition under which these subsidies could be granted had to do with the amount of rent to be paid and the relation of the income secured from rent to the capital invested in the enterprise, as well as to the size of the family group housed. In 1927 the sums appropriated toward this purpose amounted to 48,200,000 francs. In 1927 the enactment of 1919 was elaborated by providing for contributions on the part of the local, as well as of the central, jurisdictions, so that an undertaking to provide accommodations for this group of families might receive public aid from the Commune and the Department, as well as from the central government. In 1928 the law was again amended, authorizing grants not only toward the construction of dwellings rented by large families but also making it possible for the public authorities to co-operate in housing schemes looking toward the purchase by the tenant of his dwelling. These subsidies could be given not only for families in which there were a large number of children but also for persons who were the victims of military or industrial injury, in cases in which the injury reduced his earning capacity to less than sixty per cent of the normal power.

Under the earlier laws the subsidies constituted a certain percentage of the amount invested in the property. Under the law of 1928 it varies

with the number of children in the family or with the degree of incapacity of the head of the family. The amount assigned to this purpose in the budget for 1929 was 150,000,000 francs, and the current year sees the inauguration of the new policy. An undertaking of this kind is of course not without very great difficulties, and these were pointed out in an extremely interesting statement in *Le Musée Social*, in which M. Georges Charbonneaux, the head of the philanthropic undertaking in Rheims, reviewed the entire subject for a conference on the birth-rate meeting in that city in October, 1928. It is obvious that the selection of families for purposes of this kind is attended with many difficulties. And it is of course true that families in which there are a number of children generally change their composition and are reduced in number and in special need. Beside these difficulties of administration when the buildings have been erected, the relationships among and between the organizations providing the dwellings and the jurisdictions from which grants are sought are often quite complicated; and the procedures become very difficult, so that great delays are often occasioned in the carrying out of a program of this kind.

It is therefore now proposed, and discussion on the subject is given at some length in *Le Musée Social* for March, 1929, that the grant should be made not toward the construction of the building but toward the cost of its occupation; that is, that where accommodations are provided a portion of the rent determined by the size of the family shall be borne by the public funds. It is interesting to notice that in this proposal the definition of the large family now becomes a family of three or more children; and a suggestion of this change with the necessary estimates presented to the Chamber of Deputies in December, 1928, was received with very great enthusiasm by the members of the Chamber. The proposal made at that time was that in addition to the allocation of thirty francs a month granted under the act of 1919, i.e., toward the construction of buildings, for a child of less than thirteen years, beginning with the fourth child, there should be from the first of January, 1929, allowed a supplementary grant of forty francs a month which should be called the "allocation toward the rent." It is estimated that there are in France 250,000 families having a minimum of four children less than thirteen years of age, who might benefit, and that there are 403,000 children to benefit. The estimated annual cost therefore of this new grant is 193,000,000 francs.

Among the advantages of this type of allowance as compared with the grant toward the construction of a building are alleged to be the ease with

which it can be administered and abuses characteristic of the other grant avoided; the decrease in the charge on the budget which would be much less because it does not require a capital grant but can be paid out of the annual receipts of the government; the fact that it makes possible provision for large families of moderate means and does not limit the benefit to the families of very low income; and the possibility of ending the grant when the condition calling for it, which is also much greater than under the earlier law, has ceased to exist; and since the allowance is determined by the actual number of children in the family group the aid given to extraordinarily large families, that is, families of seven or more, will probably be vastly more satisfactory than has been possible in the past.

M. Landry, who presented this proposal to the Chamber, based his argument on the national concern for the well-being of these families. He said,

This problem of the dwelling of the large family we should consider as having great national interest. It is for the benefit of the nation that the large family should be aided and encouraged. It is true that humanitarian considerations should likewise have very great weight, so that the argument is presented both to the mind and to the heart of every citizen of France.

His appeal was met with very loud applause from all parties and a pledge was given by the minister of labor, health, and public welfare that the government would take the proposal under serious consideration at the earliest possible moment.

THE infant mortality rate in France was 91 per thousand live births in 1928, according to an official preliminary report,¹ as compared with 83 in 1927. This increase is attributed to the fact that the summer of 1928 was long and hot, while that of 1927 was short and cool. In general, the infant mortality rate of France has declined since the World War, having been 112 in 1913. In 1927 the infant mortality rate of France was considerably higher than that of certain countries of Northern Europe but lower than that of countries of Central and Southern Europe. The report gives some very interesting rates as follows: Netherlands, 59; Sweden, 62; England, 70; France, 83; Germany, 97; Austria, 125; Spain, 127; Italy, 127; Czechoslovakia, 157; Hungary, 185; and Rumania, 195.

The birth-rate has been declining in all the countries listed in the foregoing, but the French birth-rate has declined somewhat less than that

¹ "Rapport sur la Statistique Annuelle du Mouvement de la Population de la France, 1928," *Journal Officiel*, Paris, Annexe, April 7, 1929, p. 323.

of most of the other countries. In 1927 the birth-rate for France was 5 per cent lower than in 1913, for Italy 15 per cent lower, for the Netherlands 18 per cent lower, for England and for Sweden 31 per cent lower, and for Germany 34 per cent lower. The birth-rate per ten thousand population for France and certain other European countries in 1927 was as follows: Sweden, 161; England, 166; Austria, 178; France, 181; Germany, 183; Norway, 203; Netherlands, 231; Czechoslovakia, 233; Italy, 269; and Spain, 286.

There has been comment recently on the fact that in cities like Berlin and London the birth-rates in the poorer sections are now very little higher than among the rich.

FINLAND has passed an interesting amendment to its law regarding children born out of wedlock. The original law contained chapters dealing with the legal position of the child, provisions for obtaining support, and a system of state and local guardianship to protect the welfare of the child who does not have the advantages of a normal home. The amendment strengthens the system of guardianship by increasing the powers of the board of guardians and of the children's custodian in each commune. The board is given power to decide whether the mother is a fit guardian for her child. The custodian of each commune is given the duty of watching over the care and education of the child and is to be notified of any change in the child's custody. These local custodians are recommended by the Board of Guardians. A commune having a special child-welfare board has the duties of the board of guardians transferred to it.

Proceedings to establish paternity in order to determine liability for support may now be instituted five instead of two years after the birth of the child, and it is provided that the agreement reached with regard to support may be enforced in the manner stipulated for legal decrees. Further provisions deal with poor relief and the penalty for failure to give information that will aid in securing support.

LEGISLATIVE provision for vacations with pay as a means of improving the health of young workers has been growing in favor in post-war Europe. Austria passed the pioneer law of this type in 1919, providing an annual vacation of two weeks with pay for all manual workers under sixteen years of age, including apprentices, after a year's employment.

A recent issue of the little Swiss magazine *Pro Juventute* shows that in Switzerland the canton of Bern has a law according to which all women

workers are given a vacation of six days with pay after a year's work: this is increased by two days a year until after four years the annual vacation is twelve days. Poland now has a law granting two weeks' vacation with pay after a year's employment to all manual workers under eighteen years of age. In Czechoslovakia six days after a year of employment is given to all workers irrespective of age. Finland has a similar provision, except that only one week is granted. In Latvia two weeks must be given after six months of employment; in Luxemburg one week after a year of employment; and finally in Soviet Russia the Labor Code grants to all workers under sixteen years of age a month's leave with pay after five and one-half months of employment.

AT THE close of the war the Jewish population of Palestine had been reduced from 100,000 to 60,000, of whom 4,500, or 7.5 per cent, were orphans. The Joint Distribution Committee of America provided funds to care for these children after modern methods of child welfare and established in July, 1919, a Palestine Orphan Committee, with Miss Sophia Berger, a graduate of the University of Chicago, as executive director. That committee, through which the American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee expended two million dollars, is about to bring its work to a close and has just published an interesting report in English and Hebrew covering its years of service.

Altogether nearly 20,000 children have been cared for in the decade; less than one-fourth of them had lost both father and mother, but more than half were fatherless. The numbers of boys and of girls were, as was to be expected, about equal. The parents had come from Aleppo, Anatolia, Bagdad, Bokhara, Caucasus, Damascus, Georgia, Kurdistan, Morocco, Persia, Salonica, Tunis, and Urpha, as well as from Abyssinia and Arabia. There were children from the ghetto of Hebron, from Safad, Tiberias, Jaffa, Haifa, from the old city of Jerusalem and the new; and a few from the Jewish agricultural settlements.

To the funds provided for the Palestinian war orphans it was found necessary to add funds for the care of children brought in by the large immigration of 1922-23, and for these appeal was made to the Junior Hadassah of America (130 children), to the Helping Hand Organization of Philadelphia (32 children), and to the Eastern European Women's Society of Detroit, which assumed the cost of caring for 15 children.

The interesting points about this report of the Palestine Orphan Committee are (1) the extent to which the children were cared for in family homes although there were in the country twelve well-equipped orphanages, and (2) the success with which they were prepared for independent

wage-earning by the time they were old enough to be placed. In Jerusalem alone the boys were distributed to fifty-five different trades and the girls trained for twenty occupations.

Only in the beginning was there any difficulty in finding foster homes. Whenever possible, the children were placed with their own relatives, whenever possible with their own mothers. Sometimes, groups of from five to ten children were for a time placed with private families until relatives' homes could be made fit for them.

Clothing was furnished the children and school supplies of all kinds. And full-time visitors, including a school visitor, a vocational guidance worker, a trained nurse, and four assistants, co-operated with the foster parents in their care of the children.

There was a minimum of institutional care necessary. Two orphanages were maintained though under another name and for special services, and two "children's villages" were established looking toward the preparation of a considerable number of children both boys and girls for successful careers in agriculture. In view of the fact that the success or failure of the Palestine experiment is thought to be dependent upon the capacity of the Jewish population to succeed in agriculture, these "children's villages" seem especially significant features of the undertaking.

BERLIN is now said to hold "the world's record" for having the lowest birth-rate among the capital cities of two continents. In round numbers the Berlin birth-rate was only 10 per 1,000 population when the corresponding rates were 17 for London and 16 for Paris. Although the German population has increased by approximately seven million since the beginning of the present century, the birth-rate has fallen from approximately two million in 1900 to 1,160,000 children born during the year.

THE health demonstrations growing out of war-relief work, which have been conducted in Austria during the last five years by the Commonwealth Fund with the active co-operation of the Austrian health authorities, were brought to a close on the first day of last July. Among the permanent results of the demonstration as set out in the annual report of the Fund are more than eighty child-health centers located in every province of Austria and enrolling more than 42,000 mothers and children, which will be continued under the supervision of a national administrative committee with government appropriations to take the place of Commonwealth Fund Support. Provision has already been made, the report states, for the permanent continuance of almost all the activities of the Salzburg demonstration, which include child-health and

prenatal centers; tuberculosis, dental, and orthopedic clinics; a school-hygiene institute which last year examined more than 8,000 children; a visiting-nurse service; organized health education in the city schools; and a "day home" for undernourished children. Both the health stations and the Salzburg demonstration were intended to set up standards for work elsewhere, and in this respect, the report says they, have been measurably successful. In various other communities the Fund has given aid to existing activities for the purpose of strengthening local initiative.

A large proportion of the money available for the experimental work in Austria has been used to provide educational opportunities for physicians and health workers occupying strategic positions and in grants to the institutions and activities best able to contribute to strengthening the public-health program. Seventy such grants were made in sums varying from less than \$100 for special pieces of equipment for health work to \$14,500 for the Children's Hospital at Salzburg.

The report lays special stress upon the degree of self-help that the Fund found in Austria, "the eager initiative which has developed, the constantly improving standards, and the determination to carry on."

THE First International Congress on Mental Hygiene is now being organized, and its sessions are scheduled for the week of May 5, 1930, in Washington, D.C. President Hoover has accepted the honorary presidency, and the honorary vice-presidents will include the presidents of all national mental hygiene societies in the several countries and such individuals as may be designated later to represent countries in which organized mental hygiene societies do not exist.

A large number of the members of the committee on the organization of the congress, representing every phase of state and national mental hygiene work and many of the governmental, educational, and social work agencies and foundations interested in mental hygiene, met in New York last spring to take action upon reports of various subcommittees to whom preliminary organization work had been intrusted and to elect permanent officers for the congress and to make plans to perfect this organization. Nominations for officers were presented by the Committee on Plan and Scope of the Congress.

Mr. Clifford Whittingham Beers, of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, was made secretary-general and John R. Shillady, administrative secretary of the congress; and the other officers elected were the following: President: Dr. William A. White, superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D.C.; vice-presidents: Grace Abbott, chief

of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor; James Rowland Angell, president of Yale University; Hugh S. Cumming, M.D., surgeon-general, United States Public Health Service; Adolph Meyer, M.D., of Johns Hopkins University; William H. Welch, M.D., of Johns Hopkins University; Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D., secretary of the interior; Samuel T. Orton, M.D., president of the American Psychiatric Association; George E. MacPherson, M.D., president of the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded; Karl S. Lashley, of the University of Chicago, president of the American Psychological Association; Charles H. Frazier, president of the American Neurological Association.

The *Mental Hygiene Bulletin* has announced that a survey of the status of mental hygiene work in the various countries will be published in advance of the Congress and will include the mental hygiene aspects of such subjects as: law, hospitals, clinics, medical teaching, psychiatric work in prisons and among delinquents, dependency, industry, training of personnel, methods and technique of community education, leading books and periodicals, statistics, administration.

The subjects recommended for consideration in the sessions of the congress by the Committee on Program, of which Dr. Frankwood E. Williams is chairman, include an important list of vital and challenging problems; and it is hoped agreement may be reached regarding the outstanding mental hygiene objectives to be striven for in all countries.

READERS of the *Review* will be interested in some of the measures passed by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at their recent jubilee meeting held in Berlin, where the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization was celebrated. Of the subjects of special interest to social workers the following seem to be the more important:

1. *An equal moral standard*, which was especially timely after the League of Nations' report¹ on the traffic in women and last year's centenary celebration in honor of Josephine Butler.

2. *The nationality of married women*, which is of interest to case workers concerned for the preparation of foreign-born women for the naturalization procedure and because of the situation created under the so-called Cable Act of the United States, whereby families may be composed of a father and of children who are American citizens and an alien wife and mother who is thus placed under an additional handicap.

3. *Family allowances*, on which the Congress took the position that the method to secure assistance for family budgets must be adapted to

¹ See this *Review*, I, 354; II, 1.

the special needs of each country and that further study must be devoted to this subject before final action could be taken by the Alliance. However, the Congress urges those countries in which the system of family allowances has already been developed, namely, Belgium, France, New South Wales, and New Zealand, to place the system on an adequate scale and especially to secure that the allowances are paid to the mother.

4. *The unmarried mother and her child.* The Alliance urges auxiliaries to continue to work in the various countries for the improvement of the position of the unmarried mother and her child and reaffirms the principles that assistance should be given by some measure of state insurance rather than in the form of poor relief or charity; that economic independence of the mother through her own work should be obtained when possible; that every effort should be made to break down the prejudice which harms the mother and child; that men should be made morally and economically responsible for their illegitimate children; and that in cases of doubtful parentage the solution should tend to give the maximum protection to the child. The Alliance among other things expects to continue to compile statistics and general information as to the death-rate in childbirth among unmarried as compared with married mothers.

5. *Women police,* a subject with reference to which the Congress takes very vigorous action.

6. *The age of marriage.* The Congress is of the opinion that the age should be not less than sixteen for girls and eighteen for boys.

On the subject of like conditions for work for men and women the Alliance urges further study in the different countries.

THE national-origins clause of the Immigration Act gave rise to some very entertaining debates in Congress during the hot month of June. On one occasion when a learned senator was attempting to explain the method of arriving at the new quotas on the national-origins basis, he became quite technical in discussing the national origins of the population enumerated in the first American census, the census of 1790, and the methods of the modern board of experts who attempted to work out the new immigration quotas "scientifically." The census of 1790 included only the names of the inhabitants and gave no information as to the country of origin. The method of guessing at national origins by the census names of 1790 may have satisfied the "experts" but not the senators, and the following is worth quoting:

Mr. Walsh, of Montana: In estimating the present population on a national-origins basis, can the Senator from North Dakota tell us what national-

ity would be assigned to the ancestor of a man by the name of Smith whose name appears on the census rolls of 1790?

Mr. Nye: The Senator from Montana will have to get the experts who have been at work on this matter to determine the question. I would not endeavor to do it.

Mr. Walsh, of Montana: Can the Senator from Pennsylvania tell us? . . .

Mr. Reed: It has been explained by the chairman of the board of experts that that would depend entirely upon the locality in which the name was found. If it were found in certain parts of eastern Pennsylvania, for example, it would be assumed that the name was originally Schmidt, and so the ancestor would be of German origin. In other parts of the country where there had been no German immigration whatever, it would probably be assumed that the name was British in origin.

Mr. Walsh, of Montana: If the man bearing the name resided in the city of Boston or New York, what origin would be assigned to him?

Mr. Reed: I do not care to go into details, but that has been studied.

Mr. Walsh, of Montana: I suppose it is generally understood that the Democratic candidate for President of the United States at the late election, one Alfred E. Smith, is of Irish origin.

Mr. Norris: If he had lived in western Pennsylvania, he would have been a Dutchman.

Mr. Walsh, of Montana: In that case he would have been a Dutchman.

Mr. Reed: It is quite possible. . . .

Mr. Walsh, of Massachusetts: Mr. President, the controversy now engaging the attention of the Senate is between two immigration quota formulas of which one is national origins and the other is 2 per cent of the foreign-born population of 1890. It should be definitely understood that there is not involved here any controversy as to whether we shall have more immigrants or fewer immigrants. The sole question is which of these formulas will become the permanent basis for determining how many immigrants from each European country may enter the United States each year? . . .

That at once brings us to the question of analyzing races, distasteful and unpleasant as it may be; but it is here. In the last analysis the only practical question here is, Shall we by our action bring to America more English and Scotch and Irish and less Germans and Scandinavians? We can not bring the children of those who fought in the Revolution. They and their descendents are already here. We are dealing with the English and Scotch and Irish and Germans and Scandinavians who are now knocking at our doors. . . .

There are a lot of theories and pseudo-patriotism here. Some people have the notion that in some mysterious way the grandchildren of the writers of the Constitution and the Revolutionary fathers are going, through the national-origins plan, to be admitted to America.

THE 1930 census was another subject which furnished the *Congressional Record* with debates of interest to social workers, and there will be general regret that Congress finally rejected the proposal to select the entire field staff for the taking of the new census according to civil service regulation and preferred selection under the old-time spoils system. Much emphasis was laid upon the claim that no civil service examination could reveal the subtle human qualities that would invite confidence, make interrogation a pleasure, and assure public approval of the work. The champions of selection under patronage insisted that the enumerators must be chosen for the ability to get along with people, the supervisors for the soundness of their reputations as well as their administrative experience. The inference was, of course, that the merit system could provide dull fellows, good at figures and reliable, perhaps, but lacking that mysterious something essential to the success of this decennial job. The taking of the census next year ought to be something of a social occasion throughout the country. Not so in Washington. There, the huge temporary staff will be selected by civil service examination. The charm element will be lacking.

Yet up until the 1910 census the appointment of the Washington staff likewise was a prize for the patronage dispensers, and its inclusion under the Civil Service Law was as vigorously resisted. Once established, however, no serious effort has been made to abandon the principle and return to the older method. Advocates of the policy of appointment by preference have been pushed back to new defenses. It is the field staff they must save if the job of taking the census is to be useful to politicians in the future. It is theirs for this decade. Whether the merit system will triumph when 1940 comes depends on how much the public really cares about its business, and how much it knows about the operation of the merit system in the civil service.

Under the leadership of Senator Wagner, of New York, a determined effort was made to remove the exemption applying to the supervisors, enumerators, special agents, and other temporary employees in the field—more than 100,000 in all—and place them under civil service regulations along with the temporary Washington clerical staff. The Wagner amendment was adopted in the Senate by a close vote but was lost in the House. Therefore the civil service provision was one of the differences between the two Houses that conferees were appointed to adjust. In their compromise only special agents were retained under civil service; the supervisors, the enumerators, and the rest were given to the spoilsmen. The

honors go to the politicians, because the supervisors and enumerators are the juicy plums they want to distribute.

The arguments advanced against the extension of the merit system were neither impressive nor unique to those who really believe in further application of the Civil Service Law. They ranged from the contention that it would be inefficient and extravagant to conduct examinations for the 80,000 enumerators to the assertion that proper candidates for the job of supervisor especially could not be secured by that method. The Civil Service Commission made adequate reply and pointed out that special examinations to fill the position of enumerator would not be necessary, as its lists of eligibles already furnish the names of thousands of persons qualified to act, and that in places where there were no eligibles available, the exemptions possible under the Civil Service Law would be invoked. Likewise, it was necessary for the Civil Service Commission to point out repeatedly that there was no agency in the government so well equipped to select qualified supervisors; and to cite its wide experience in securing competent applicants for highly responsible administrative positions in other departments of the government. The general impression seemed to be that a civil service examination was bound to be a pedantic affair. Only a few senators showed any familiarity with the flexibility of the law and practice governing the great employment program of the federal government.

Senator Wagner, of New York, thought that the \$40,000,000 which the new census will cost was too large a sum to waste, and he maintained that if the civil service provision were

written into law it would eliminate at one stroke patronage and politics from the census. Supervisors, special agents, clerks, and enumerators will be selected because they have the capacity to do the work assigned to them. It follows that the results of such a census will be free of bias and partisanship and free of extravagance and waste.

For 50 years we have been developing and perfecting our civil service system, until it is now part of the bone and marrow of our Government. Every year the Civil Service Commission fills thousand of positions of every class in the Government service. It has the experience and the machinery to hire the men and women required to take the census of population. There is to my mind no valid reason why, at this late date, a national census should be diverted from its lofty constitutional purpose and turned into a carnival of patronage. . . .

If you are unwilling that the \$40,000,000 made available in this bill be used to pay for party services; if you are concerned that your State secure honest representation in Congress; if you desire your State to obtain its fair proportion of the electoral votes, your only course is to join in the demand that Congress

restore the civil service amendment to the census bill. Otherwise you may expect an incompetent, extravagant, and suspected enumeration—yes, even a fraudulent enumeration. . . .

The objection has been raised that the Civil Service Commission will not be able to find the necessary number of employees. No one has explained why it should have any difficulty. If the politicians can do it, why can not the Civil Service Commission? In fact, the commission already has upon its lists 60,000 names of persons eligible for appointment and 4,000 boards throughout the country to secure as many more as the Government may require.

Great emphasis has been laid by the opponents of the civil service amendment that the census employees are temporary. What if many of them are? Does that justify a partisan and political census? Furthermore, a substantial number of the employees, particularly the special agents, can, under the law, be employed for long periods of time to gather all sorts of statistics and information. There is no legal limitation upon the term of their employment.

The Civil Service Commission has officially stated that it is able and willing to find 100,000 capable persons to take the census. Numerous public-spirited organizations have taken official action in favor of the civil-service amendment. The majority of the press is supporting it. I can see no valid objection against it.

The truth is that those who are opposed to this amendment believe that to the victor belong the spoils. They look upon the 100,000 jobs as a great and rich opportunity for the party in power to declare a dividend for the benefit of those who helped and are going to help to elect its candidate to office. The reasoning, I am sure, has no appeal to the 120,000,000 people whose sole interest is that the census be honestly and efficiently accomplished.

Of course, it is fair to say that some senators supported the cause of the merit system from the same motive which made other senators oppose it—for it is easier to be virtuous about patronage when the other side is in office and you do not have any to distribute. But a good many genuine friends of the civil service made up the total vote. With better public understanding of the problem their number should be increased and victory in 1940 assured. Reforms come slowly. The spoilsmen have been fighting to hold the census ever since the Civil Service Law was passed. With the exception of the special agents, they will control the field staff in the fifteenth decennial census of the American people.

THE new social survey of London in continuation of the pioneer work of Charles Booth was the subject of a recent meeting held by the Royal Statistical Society of London. Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, the director of the new survey, was one of the members of the Booth survey group, and he very fittingly recalled in his recent paper that the first pub-

lic account of the great Booth survey was given in a paper read by Mr. Booth before the Royal Statistical Society in May, 1887. In this first paper dealing with the Tower Hamlets Division of East London, Mr. Booth outlined his method and discussed it with the members present.

In his recent article Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith emphasized the fact that the Booth survey had been static in character and had aimed "at presenting an instantaneous picture of conditions as they existed at a given time." But obviously the method adopted did not provide for the measurement of tendencies or the discovery of causes. To answer the puzzling old questions, "Is poverty growing or diminishing? Are conditions becoming better or worse?" a resurvey was necessary after a sufficient period of time had elapsed. This survey, which Mr. Booth had once hoped to see undertaken, was initiated last year by the London School of Economics; and the following account given by the London *Times* of the paper read before the Statistical Society is of general interest from the point of view of method as well as subject matter. The new survey was started with some fear and trepidation a year ago, 42 years after the beginning and 25 years after the conclusion of Charles Booth's epoch-making work. In the interval new sources of information had become available, boundaries had changed, centres of gravity of population had shifted, great organizations of a remedial character had come into existence. It was out of the question to repeat the survey of 40 years ago in exactly the same form, over precisely the same area, and by identical methods. Even if they could shut their eyes to all the fresh sources of information and means of research which had since become available, they would not, in view of the redistribution of population, be really comparing like with like, still less would they be laying any foundation for future comparisons—a matter not less important than establishing a comparison with the past.

Booth's method was mainly extensive and indirect, and his classification was not based on any single objective standard, but on judging the net result of a number of different factors. The great possibilities of the method of indirect investigation through tapping the knowledge of persons who in the ordinary course of their duties came into intimate contact with the population surveyed were one of Booth's most fruitful discoveries in social inquiry. The later inquiries into poverty directed by Mr. Rowntree and by Professor Bowley were based on definite standards representing the estimated cost of satisfying minimum requirements. Moreover, the provincial inquiries of 1914 and 1924 were intensive and direct, being based on the direct investigation of sample households. This method of random sampling, while yielding more detailed and precise results as to conditions and earnings, could not be applied to the reconstruction of the poverty map.

They had to decide which of the above precedents should be followed. Each

had its own special advantages and drawbacks. The final outcome was to convince them of the necessity of combining the two methods, by instituting two concurrent surveys, the one extensive and indirect, the other intensive and direct, following respectively the general lines of the two types of investigation referred to above, and checking and supplementing the results of each by reference to the other. Though the adoption of this double method materially increased the labour and cost of the new survey, he felt sure that this course would be fully justified by the greatly increased value of the results for the purpose of comparison with the past and future.

It was considered that Booth's definition of the poverty line was sufficiently near to that resulting from applying modern standards of nutritive values to his budgets of consumption to make his minimum standard fairly comparable with that of later inquiries. The food expenditure of a family of standard composition with an income of 21s. in 1890 was approximately 14s., or 4s., per equivalent adult. Owing to the rise in cost of living this was now equivalent to about 7s., and the poverty line, so far as dependent on income, had risen from 21s. to 40s. Meanwhile, the rate of real wages in London had risen faster than the cost of living, so that the poverty line was now a good deal further below the average earnings of unskilled labour than in Booth's time. Concurrently there had been a gradual change in the popular conception of poverty, but in order to maintain scientific comparisons they were bound to adhere to the Booth standard.

The paper went on to explain the principles on which the population was being classified, above and below the poverty line, together with the methods being employed for the reconstruction of Booth's poverty map. The area covered by the new survey was wider than that of Booth's, embracing not only the County of London, but a fringe of the outer areas, in which, especially on the eastern side, the greatest increase of population had taken place in recent years. Altogether the area under survey included about $5\frac{1}{2}$ million people, of whom roughly one-quarter lived outside the County of London. Up to the present attention had been mainly concentrated on the eastern sector, for which the primary survey was nearly complete.

Concurrently with the survey proper an introductory volume was being prepared, linking up the survey with the period of Charles Booth's inquiry by a series of long-period data showing the movements of population, industry, and the economic, social, and health conditions of the people of London during the last 30 or 40 years. At the same time a resurvey was taking place of the principal groups of London industries, especially those which in Booth's time were most definitely associated with poverty, together with a number of special subjects, including the use of leisure.

BOOK REVIEWS

- Liberty under the Soviets.* By ROGER N. BALDWIN. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xiv+272. \$0.50.
- Health Work in Soviet Russia.* By ANNA J. HAINES. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xviii+177. \$0.50.
- New Schools in Russia.* By LUCY L. W. WILSON. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xxiii+230. \$0.50.
- Soviet Trade Unions.* By ROBERT W. DUNN. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xix+238. \$0.50.
- Woman in Soviet Russia.* By JESSICA SMITH. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. ix+216. \$0.50.

These five compact and well-filled little books are the latest of the Vanguard Press series on Russia under the editorship of Professor Jerome Davis, of Yale. The twelve published to date present the most complete survey of the varied aspects of this stupendous social and economic experiment available in English. And if the tone of our daily press may be taken as an index, these latest books have for the first time since the revolution a chance of being read by a host of fair-minded Americans who want to know what is actually happening in Russia. One by one the most obvious and dramatic lies about this "most-lied-about" country have been exploded, leaving the atmosphere cleared for some objective and unimpassioned fact-finding. Nobody save a few hard-pressed mill-owners and our ever alert societies for the defense of Americanism seems to believe now that Communists are all a pack of unprincipled fiends seeking to destroy civilization. And only the most sentimental Marxian—though of course there is theoretically none—regards everything Russian and Communist as perfect. The Russian government is a going concern in its twelfth year, making many-millioned contracts with hard-headed business concerns of the West, sitting in at solemn councils of the nations, and officially recognized by most of these nations. Naturally we want to know what they are doing over there.

But apparently it is not the easiest thing in the world for even the most honest reporters to retail accurate information on the subject. For example, I have just reopened Dreiser on Russia, Wesley fashion, at two random spots. At the first I find in black and white that *The Cherry Orchard* has so far been banned from the Russian stage as too bourgeois. Yet I witnessed a very interesting production of this very play in Leningrad a year before Dreiser's page was written. On the second opening of the book I found that there is "no advertising" in Russian magazines and newspapers, an error in absolutes which the most casual reading of any Russian newspaper would disclose. Thus Dreiser the realist!

Or take the case of the newspaper correspondent who dispatched recently that the Baptists in Russia were being suppressed because, forsooth, they are going into social activities, operating a social center in Leningrad which begins with a prayer-meeting and ends with a dance! No one with the slightest knowledge of the habits of the Russian Baptists would have found the news more impossible of belief if the correspondent had announced boldly, "Russian Baptists grow tails!" So, I marvel at the objective accuracy of these books.

One of the valuable features of the series is that each book has been written as a distinct entity at different times and places by a widely varied group of authors, including social worker, teacher, Quaker nurse, British journalist, theologian. All of them may be said to be generally sympathetic toward Russia. But their authors represent a liberalism running from Socialist rights to recent converts to Communism. There are naturally differences of opinion. The contradictions in fact gathered from such divergent sources are so few as to be negligible.

The most readable of the five, both on account of its subject and its style, is Roger Baldwin's book of findings on the state of liberty among the Bolsheviks. Along with Brailsford's *How the Soviets Work*, published earlier in the same series,¹ it is the least specialized and most comprehensive of the series. Certainly no one in the United States is more capable of examining this phase of Russian affairs than Baldwin, and he has done the job with enviable thoroughness and fairness. He discovers some new canons of liberty, but he does not blink the evils of curtailed freedom even in a country where he believes the foundations of real liberty are being laid in economic equality.

Anna Haines, a Quaker nurse of long experience in relief work in Russia before and after the revolution, takes us into the little heralded field of the constructive activities of the new régime in public health. Here is a story of pioneering on a scale absolutely appalling to anyone save these undaunted and patient Russian Communists. It is particularly interesting to examine a system of public health projected on a plan for universal free hospitalization and medical care in the light of the Chicago Medical Society's recent action when it expelled one of its eminent members for daring to sponsor a movement for making medical attention cheaper to the middle-class sufferer.

The same thoroughgoing application of a principle is seen in the scholarly review of the Russian educational system by Mrs. Wilson. Here we find the pedagogical theories which we have been trying out in a few isolated and expensive spots adopted as far as physically possible for the last far-flung village of Russia. And what is more, new schemes are being constantly added in the light of practical adaptations, so that it seems not inconceivable that the world may one day be sitting at the feet of a Slavic-Dewey system of education tested in the villages of the steppe.

Robert Dunn has brought to his task not alone previous experience in

¹ See this *Review*, II, 145.

Russia but an intimate acquaintance with labor unions in America through research and activity which makes him peculiarly fitted to perform the very good service he has rendered in this study. To the labor unionist and the student in this field his thoroughly documented and critical exposition of this very active and real phase of proletarian life in Russia will be intensely valuable and interesting. He describes in detail the workings of the unions as they are organized on industrial lines which include every worker from the janitor to the technician and shows their intimate share in shaping not alone the matters of wages and working conditions but the very policies of the government. Nor does he slight the educational and cultural functions of the unions, which occupy a large place in their program.

Around the area which Jessica Smith has investigated, the place and condition of women in Soviet Russia, lie many of the most fantastic fictions about the whole vast experiment. This book in a frank, unsentimental fashion describes the emergence of the real new woman of Russia. We have her here adequately shown in her revolutionized rôle of worker, citizen, sweetheart, mother, and builder of the new community. Little has been glossed over. Much that is still unhappy, crowded, burdensome in the life of the women of the village and factory is plainly set forth. But there is likewise the story of woman's new sense of independence, her conscious share in the whole new life, her slow rise from ignorance and abasement into a new place of dignity and worthfulness.

No one can rise from the reading of these books without a feeling that he has been introduced to something enormously alive and important. It is a tale of great struggle, of poverty, of mistakes; but also a story of slow tortuous achievement, of great ideals, of unprecedented and colossal experiments in the realm of human relations. Much of it may remain confused, but two main currents run plainly through all the books, offering a key to every Soviet situation: the Russian government is a Socialist government so far as possible, and it is a workers' government, hence a topsy-turvy world from every capitalistic viewpoint. Is there freedom in Russia? Yes, class freedom for the workers and peasants. Justice? Yes, class justice. The scales are tipped in this strange land in favor of the poorest and the worker. If there are four sick men and two beds in the hospital, the poorest first. All children cannot be accommodated in the schools as yet, so, the poorest first. Housing? Crowded, poor, antiquated; but graded to the income, free to the out-of-work. Poverty? In plenty, but a whole country poor together and rising slowly to wealth together.

Think what we will of this world turned upside down, no event of our time will probably affect us and particularly our children more profoundly than the Russian revolution. We cannot afford to be ignorant about it. These books provide a source of reliable information.

KARL BORDERS

CHICAGO COMMONS

Publicity for Social Work. By MARY SWAIN ROUTZAHN and EVART G. ROUTZAHN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1928. Pp. xviii+392. \$3.00.

One of the most difficult tasks confronting any social agency is that of making itself continuously and favorably known to the public. The job is peculiarly hard in this field, partly because social work is off the main line of the average citizen's thinking, partly because there is a definite limitation to the amount of money that may be spent for publicity purposes, and partly because of the fierce competition with better equipped and less ethically minded competitors for the public attention. Yet publicity is an essential, and no organization grows or even holds its own that cannot wrest from an increasing number of people a share of their attention.

This book tells simply, concretely, and in detail how to go about the publicity job. It is written by two Russell Sage Foundation employees who have devoted a lifetime to studying the task and carrying out their theories. They know whereof they speak. The book may be regarded as a textbook, not only for the immature student but also for persons who have shed their swaddling clothes and who have been long at work in the hard struggle of making social agencies and social programs known.

It is divided into six major parts. The first analyzes the publicity task, showing how to attract attention, to hold attention, to create good will, and to secure a response. Here are definite, concise, tried methods amply illustrated and written interestingly.

The second part is devoted to social work and the newspaper, describing how to build up that difficult and precarious relationship between the press and social work. For the average social worker who has definite ethical ideals about the protection of his clients, this is a most baffling business. One who wants to know how to secure the confidence of the press and get results from it, at the same time holding to the ethical responsibilities of the profession, should most certainly read this section.

The third section is devoted to printed matter, reviewing with copious illustrations the technical information needed to get out pamphlets, circulars, and folders that are attractive and that will catch hold. The fourth section is devoted to meetings which, after all, hold a major place in most publicity programs for the simple reason that talk is cheap, and social work, constantly forced by public opinion to watch its overhead, must resort to the cheapest method. The fifth section deals with special occasions and shows how dramatic instrumentalities may be shaped into a social service publicity program, and how fairs, expositions, and other aggregations of people may be utilized for publicity purposes. The sixth portion outlines and describes in detail the intensive campaign which holds such a prominent place in so many of our social-propaganda and money-raising movements.

This book is something you can use. You can use it on many occasions easily and readily. I recommend it for anybody who wants to push an agency or a program deeper and deeper into the public consciousness.

WILLIAM J. NORTON

DETROIT COMMUNITY FUND

Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture. By ROBERT S. LYND and HELEN MERRELL LYND. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929. Pp. x+550. \$5.00.

Between the Pittsburgh survey and that of Middletown two decades intervene. While both these investigations lie in the field of community studies, they differ so widely in form and manner of treatment that they seem to have little in common. The social survey, which was first developed by those interested in social work and social reform, has been concerned primarily with social conditions and problems within the community. The authors of *Middletown*, on the other hand, were interested in the forms which human behavior assumes under the conditions of life that prevail in a modern American city. They desired to discover facts not about evils that should be remedied but about situations and interrelationships that would throw light on the process of social change. It is to the credit of the authors that this more intangible purpose, which might seem chiefly of interest to the social scientist, has led to the writing of a volume more fascinating to the general reader than any social survey hitherto published.

The investigation of Middletown was sponsored by the Institute of Social and Religious Research and represents one of the notable achievements of this organization, which has in earlier volumes made valuable contributions to our knowledge of American communities. Five people including the authors participated in the field study, which covered a period of a year and a half, from January, 1924, to June, 1925. Since the volume was not published until 1929, three and a half years after the materials were compiled, it would be interesting to speculate concerning the reasons for the long delay. In books of this nature, which attempt to set forth facts and situations that are constantly changing, the public has a right to expect reasonable promptness in publication.

The city selected for study is located in the east-north-central group of states and has a population of slightly less than 40,000. The reader is somewhat puzzled by the assumption that anonymity is essential in an investigation of this kind. Disagreeable facts were stated in the Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and other surveys; and while certain objections were made to this unfavorable publicity, such evaluations of a community are now accepted as a matter of course. It is true that in *Middletown* a greater amount of personal data is given, and small organizations are criticized whose leaders could without difficulty be identified if the place were known. But it is hard to see why in a social survey one can frankly point out inadequacies in a juvenile court, a social service agency, or a particular industry, while in a study of social change everybody

concerned must be protected by the device of anonymity. The advantages of knowing the name of the place under discussion are too obvious to be mentioned. If studies of this type cannot be published without concealing the identity of the community, we might as well turn our attention to other more promising methods of social investigation. Fortunately in this case the veil of anonymity can be torn aside by the interested student. Unless the facts are distorted, which is unthinkable in such a scholarly work, it is possible to follow clues and accumulate evidence which will eventually point unmistakably to the actual city itself. Perhaps after all this removal of identification marks is a good device, for while playing the rôle of Sherlock Holmes the reader is forced to study the book more carefully than he might do otherwise.

From the point of view of the technique of community studies, the distinctive feature of *Middletown* is stated to be its application of the investigative methods of cultural anthropology to the study of a civilized community. The book, we are told, is an attempt to discuss as frankly and as dispassionately the customs and manner of living in an American city as anthropologists discuss the mode of life in a savage tribe. When the reader turns to the note on method to learn the distinguishing marks of an anthropological investigation, he is somewhat surprised to find that the technique of assembling facts closely resembles that followed in many previous studies by both social workers and sociologists. Certainly the five techniques listed by the authors—participation in the local life, examination of documentary material, compilation of statistics, interviews, and questionnaires—have long been regarded as the common possession of all the social sciences. As a matter of fact, that which gives *Middletown* uniqueness among community studies is not its investigative technique but rather its emphasis upon the problem of social change, its effort to present in a dynamic way the interwoven trends of group behavior under urban conditions.

In the classification of the materials the authors have avoided the conventional terminology of the social survey by making use of the more simply worded phrases, "Getting a Living," "Making a Home," "Training the Young," "Using Leisure," "Engaging in Religious Practices," and "Engaging in Community Activities." These six headings, which constitute the major divisions of the book, would be more satisfactory if the last named were not so obviously a blanket term to include activities that would not fit in anywhere else. In any accurate use of the phrase community activities, education, recreation, and religion fit just as readily in such a category as do the four that are discussed under this heading—government, health, social work, and the newspaper press.

In the discussion of vocational activities, the people are divided into two groups, the working class and the business class, the latter including professional workers as well. Much more space is devoted to the working class. The authors explain this on the ground that the latter class is numerically the more important, is in a less secure position economically and therefore liable to suffer disabilities through unemployment, etc., and that the business class is more

difficult to study. This emphasis on the lower economic group is in accord with current practice in social surveys but is much less appropriate in a study of social change than in a study dealing primarily with social problems. Since the influential leaders in the community are mostly found among the business and professional groups, a far more satisfactory presentation of the factors that determine the changing trends of group behavior could have been made by greater attention to the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of those in a position of leadership. One is impressed in reading the book that with the possible exception of the ministers little light is thrown on the leading personalities in the city. A keener analysis of the problem of leadership would have added to the value of the book.

One of the unwarranted claims of this investigation is that it is a "total-situation study of a contemporary civilization." Without doubt it gives a much more comprehensive view of an entire city than is attempted in the usual community study. Nevertheless, it falls far short of covering all the important aspects of community life. The student of race relations would look in vain for adequate material dealing with this perplexing problem. Although 6 per cent of the population are Negroes, they are practically ignored. By arbitrarily ruling 2,000 Negroes out of the picture, the task was simplified but at the expense of distorting the situation. The same thing can be said of the 700 foreign-born persons whose rôle in the life of the city and progress in adjustment to American urban conditions are subjects to which emphasis is not given. Even more unfortunate is the failure to include facts concerning the drinking habits of the people before and after the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. It would seem that the matter of prohibition enforcement would touch closely the lives of the people and that here would be found exceedingly important material for an interpretation of social change and group behavior. The omission of this phase of life in *Middletown* is one of the major defects of the book.

But whatever may be the shortcomings of this volume, they are easily lost sight of by the reader because of the novel and attractive manner of presentation of the materials. The skill of the authors is especially apparent in their simple, almost naïve descriptions of the major activities of the people. Facts that social surveyors would ordinarily take for granted are set forth as painstakingly as if they were describing the little known customs of an obscure people. When such institutions as the school, the church, and the family as they exist in a modern city are approached in this manner, the whole discussion becomes much more impersonal and objective and the ground is cleared for an unprejudiced appraisal of the whole situation.

Without doubt, *Middletown* is a volume which should be carefully read by social workers. While its discussion of social agencies is too brief and inadequate to be satisfactory to a technician in this field, its vivid descriptions of the moving panorama of human life in this city constitute an admirable setting for an understanding of the work the social workers desire to accomplish. Especially is it invaluable for those interested in the problem of community or-

ganization. In its emphasis upon the interplay of social forces and its attempt to throw light on the process of social change, *Middletown* far more than the earlier types of the social survey presents the kind of material that community leaders need in developing a technique for bringing about in the community the changes that seem to them desirable.

J. F. STEINER

TULANE UNIVERSITY

Community Conflict: A Formulation of Case Studies in Community Conflict, with Discussion Outlines. Edited by EDUARD C. LINDEMAN. New York: The Inquiry, 1929. Pp. xviii+156. \$1.50.

Community Conflict is an extraordinarily useful book for anyone concerned in practicing community organization or in harmonizing conflicting interests in any field of endeavor.

It is made up of a series of case studies that illustrate those conflicts which have proved insuperable and also methods by which other conflicts have been harmonized.

Not only are these case studies intrinsically interesting but more than that each brief case or illustration is preceded by a statement of the principles involved and is followed by a further analysis which suggests the general conclusions which may be drawn from the specific instance which is quoted.

The material is logically arranged and interestingly written.

The book has a useful appendix including suggestions for discussion leaders with well-thought-out discussion outlines; a series of discussion outlines for academic classes; and suggestions for the use of the book by groups actually involved in community conflict; plus suggested readings and an index to the situations which are described.

This book seems to be an important contribution to the literature of group discussion and of community organization.

ELWOOD STREET

THE COMMUNITY CHEST OF
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The American Negro (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, No. 229, November, 1928). Philadelphia, 1928. Pp. 359. \$2.00 paper; \$2.50 cloth.

This volume is an encyclopedia, in thirty-five articles, of the Negro today in the United States, with four additional articles on the Negro in relation to Latin America, South Africa, West Africa, and Europe. The articles are by specialists. This makes the book at times difficult, at other times entertaining, reading.

There are seven main divisions to the volume: "Race Relations," "The Negro as an Element in the Population of the United States," "The Legal Status of the Negro," "The Economic Achievement of the Negro," "The Mental

Ability and Achievement of the Negro," "Organizations for Social Betterment," and "Race Relations in Other Lands." A tremendous field to cover! Some of the articles sound familiar; we have read them in slightly different form in reports or magazines; but others are fresh even to the seasoned searcher after truth regarding this vexed problem.

The opening article by Herbert A. Miller is on "Race and Class Parallelism." "What we really mean," he says, "by higher and lower races is higher and lower classes. . . . Where no question arises about the level of races there is no race question." After this stimulating beginning, race relations are discussed by Du Bois, by Robert E. Park, and by Bond of Fisk. Then come statistical essays, pouring upon us facts regarding education, health, segregation, business, art, mental ability of Negroes, intelligence tests, philanthropies, social agencies. The articles at the end by Buell and Isaac Fisher show how much worse conditions are in Africa, while Walter White proves that the American Negro would find Europe completely friendly if the white American tourist could be deported.

It is a little strange that among thirty-nine authorities not one should have been a woman. Certainly, as an educator, Mary McLeod Bethune, of Florida, stands as high as any Negro in the country, and to some of us the most interesting social service work among colored today is Janie Porter Barrett's state farm for girls in Virginia. This unconscious sex discrimination gives one an insight into race discrimination as well. It is not always because the white man thinks the colored his inferior that he fails to recognize his worth. It is simply because he is accustomed to being the whole show.

The most stimulating article in the book is by Frobenius, head of the research department for cultural morphology at Frankfort-on-the-Main. He recites to us the cultures which the Ethiopian assimilated centuries ago, Erythraean, Syrtic, and Atlantic, and shows us the Ethiopian's own cultural background. Herodotus called the Negro the "unpunishable Ethiopian," and said that "their sacrifices are dearest to the gods." They have a different genius from the European. To quote Frobenius:

They are capable of deep emotion, joyously expressive, and at one with fate, whatever it may have in store for them. . . . Every materialistic or rationalistic culture recognizes and esteems only that which its senses can perceive and its intellect explain. It proceeds upon the basis of facts and creates for itself a set of accepted concepts into which all facts must fit. . . . In the Ethiopian culture, on the other hand, everything perceived by the sense and the intellect is a revelation of a reality other and more than the facts perceived. . . . The conduct of life becomes a religious mystery.

Frobenius ends by saying that if we want to know whether the Negro in America has remained true to his nature, we must see whether he is still capable of emotional exaltation and ecstasy, whether he is still musical, and whether he has kept his sense of humor.

If we keep this article of Frobenius in mind we shall see where this volume, in its evaluation of the Negro in the United States, is just to the Ethiopian and his culture and where it is prejudiced. When the subjects discussed concern

health, housing, the right to economic development, the book is just. If a white writer fails sufficiently to consider the Negro's environment in measuring his progress, a colored writer follows with a recital of discrimination. For example, if a colored child in the South has only a quarter as much money spent on its education as is spent on its white neighbor, its progress, unless it is very unusual, must be retarded, and its ability to answer intelligence tests that depend on intellectual stimulus must be less than the white child's. Again, how can one be healthy in great poverty or cleanly when forced to live in a dirty house! Too often in the rural South a Negro dare not tear down his log cabin lest his neat, new home arouse the jealousy of the dominant race. But while the book is just when dealing with subjects upon which we all agree, it is unconsciously unfair when dealing with cultural potentialities, with native genius. For all the writers, whatever their race, measure with the same yardstick, the yardstick of white attainment. One notes this especially in the article on music. Negro spirituals are childish, and those Negroes who are the best musicians are those that have most nearly approximated the white man's standard learned at the German conservatory. This is not a thought peculiar to the white. The American Negro thinks the same. He accepts the standard of acceleration in testing intelligence, although it is the curse under which clear judgment suffers today. He prides himself whenever he becomes like us.

Survival in America probably demands this sacrifice of Negro genius. But it is a sacrifice. To take the Negro stage as an example: When the Negro acted for his own people, he did beautiful, humorous work that was never vulgar. His art has been degraded since he has become popular with the whites and since the white man has directed and written his revues and comedies. He accepts this, for he does not want to differ from his fellow. The white girl bares her back to the sun to secure a richer tan, and the colored girl soaks her skin to grow white. But since this is so, all these efforts to evaluate the inherent genius of the race are futile and had better be dropped. The Negro boy and girl in school are taught to be like the white boy and girl, and they may soon be the same, in reactions, in taste, even in appearance. The Negro will be standardized, as all the other races that have come here have been standardized. The white yardstick will have done its work.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NEW YORK CITY

The Problem Child at Home. By MARY BUELL SAYLES. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1928. Pp. x+342. \$1.50.

Few books have presented the problems of the child in the home more clearly and concisely than the recent contribution by Mary Buell Sayles. Not only has the book maintained a scientific, as well as a wise humanitarian, approach to the problems presented, but from a literary point of view the author is to be commended.

Notwithstanding the fact that the market has been flooded with an avalanche of literature pertaining to the causes and cure of children's problems, every once in a while a book emerges that is worthy of consideration, not because it necessarily presents new approaches and techniques for diagnosis and treatment, but that in a very lucid manner it presents the fundamental ideas which go to make child-training a pleasure to the parent and less painful to the child. *The Problem Child at Home* has accomplished this purpose. It clearly defines and points out parental mistakes without antagonizing the parents—a most important and oftentimes a delicate task, for without parental co-operation the influence of modern methods of training of children will be of little value.

The book is one that can be commended heartily to parents, teachers, social workers, nurses, and others whose daily activities bring them in contact with children.

DOUGLAS A. THOM, M.D.

BOSTON

Motherhood in Bondage. By MARGARET SANGER. New York: Brentano's, 1928. Pp. xix+446. \$3.00.

Some More Medical Views on Birth Control. Edited by NORMAN HAIRE. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1928. Pp. x+216. \$2.50.

The Truth about Birth Control. By GEORGE RYLEY SCOTT. London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 1928. Pp. 184. 6s.

Parenthood. By MICHAEL FIELDING. London: Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., 1928. Pp. 96. 2s. 6d.

Eugenics and Politics. By FERDINAND CANNING SCOTT SCHILLER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926. Pp. 220. \$2.50.

If the recent increase of popular and semi-technical books on birth control is indicative of public interest in the subject, that vexing question, formerly under strict taboo, bids fair to become a major issue, vying for literary popularity with such subjects as marriage and divorce, adult education, and mental hygiene. The five books which are here reviewed, all present the issue of birth control from a more or less favorable approach, varying only in their social philosophies and opinions, and the nature of the subject matter.

In *Motherhood in Bondage*, Margaret Sanger presents in a dramatic manner the crucial problems of hundreds of families who at one time or another have written to her concerning their needs and their distress. Selections from the many letters that she has received have been arranged in chapters according to the argument for the dissemination of birth control that they seem to stress, such as the poverty of the large family, the conflict in domestic relations, the callousness and indifference of the medical profession, and other aspects of the social and personal problems of family control. The majority of the letters seem to be written by simple and uneducated individuals who consciously and unconsciously dramatize their problems. The total effect is that of powerful and tragic

drama which becomes overwhelming through ceaseless repetition. This effect finally seems unreal by comparison with the drabness of the actual situations apparent to the ordinary observer.

The need for intelligent education in family limitation seems incontrovertible. However, the letters indicate much more than the need for readily available birth control information. They indicate further the problems of economic and social organization, of intelligence and personality adjustment which call for organized education not only in methods of contraception but in all other aspects of sex relations and family life.

Some More Medical Views on Birth Control adds little to the discussion of the problem. It is a symposium of the views of such medical people as Sir Norman Haire, Sir James Barr, Aleck W. Bourne, F. A. E. Crew, Montague Eder, Charles E. Goddard, Jane Lorimer Hawthorne, Aletta Jacobs, Sir W. Arbuthnot Lane, M. Hamblin Smith. Dr. Hannah M. Stone, of the American Birth Control League, is a contributor known to social workers in this country. These opinions have been compiled as a counter-argument to *Medical Views on Birth Control*, a symposium of opposition views edited by Sir James Marchant, previously reviewed.¹ The usual arguments from the point of view of the social liberal are advanced. The attitudes expressed are not in reality medical views, but social views held by physicians, many of whom have had experience with the dissemination of birth control information.

The Truth about Birth Control, a guide for medical, legal, and sociological students, by George Ryley Scott, is an argument for birth control from the point of view of an individualist. It discounts the many arguments for birth control related to social welfare, population, economics, and eugenics, and bases adherence to the dissemination of birth control knowledge upon the possibilities for individual happiness. The physiological facts to which the first part of the book is devoted seem well presented, although they are not so comprehensive or so scientific as those found in recent German works. The sociological discussion in a journalistic vein seems rather dubious, and includes such preposterous assertions as that the reduction of the birth-rate is due to the fact that the majority of married men tire of their wives after the first few years of matrimony.

Parenthood, by "Michael Fielding" (obviously a fictitious name), with a Preface by H. G. Wells, is offered as a manual of birth control. It is, on the whole, the most informative and complete manual that has so far been published. In less than 100 pages it presents to the lay public an intelligent discussion of the problem of birth control, and principles and methods of contraception, and discusses social aspects of the propaganda for and against the dissemination of information. Unfortunately, much of the material with which it deals precludes its circulation in the United States, as description of methods of contraception cannot legally be circulated through the mails in this country.

¹ See this *Review*, II, 142.

It is strongly recommended, however, as the best manual on the subject for students. It is clearly written, and is without a trace of false sentiment or shoddy emotion.

Eugenics and Politics, by Ferdinand Canning Scott Schiller, is probably well known to most students of the problem of eugenics. It consists of a collection of papers dating from 1899 to 1925, and for this reason seems somewhat outmoded. Its intrinsic appeal lies in the fact that the hope of improvement of human life through eugenics seems so easy a solution to the problems of modern life. It is, however, occasionally inconsistent and illogical. The argument is largely academic and at several removes from the practical aspects of social problems. The best that can be said for eugenic theory is that if proved biologically sound it is a desirable ideal to influence family and social life. Similarly to other eugenicists, Professor Schiller stresses biological rather than social aspects as factors in civilized life.

H. L. LURIE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes. By E. K. WICKMAN. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1928. Pp. 247. \$2.00.

The first thoroughgoing statistical analysis of the problem child as viewed by the teacher will be found in this book. Mr. Wickman's treatment of his subject involves an attempt to answer the questions, "How do we define a problem child?" "What kinds of behavior are undesirable?" "How 'normal' is misbehavior?" The study is an inductive one, painstakingly and thoroughly worked out. The conclusions are cautiously made and have a positive tone only when entirely borne out statistically.

The material has been compiled through the questionnaire method, from a large group of teachers in Minneapolis and in Cleveland, and from a smaller group of mental hygienists. The results obtained have been tabulated and compared by most thorough and extensive statistical analyses. Mr. Wickman's general summary of his results indicates that "teachers stress the importance of problems relating to sex, dishonesty, disobedience, disorderliness, and failure to learn. For them, the problems that indicate withdrawing recessive characteristics in children are of comparatively little significance. Mental hygienists, on the other hand, consider these unsocial forms of behavior most serious." The charts, as a whole, bear most careful study and furnish much original material. One might even wish, in some instances, that more intensive analysis had been made—for example, in those charts (Nos. V-IX) in which comparison was made between frequency of behavior problems for the whole group and for groups presenting particular problems. In these, the interrelations between the listed items of the comparison pique one's interest, and yet it is difficult to read these results from the charts as presented.

Perhaps the most interesting and worth-while part of the entire book is chapters viii and ix, in which Mr. Wickman evaluates his findings in their rela-

tion to his own interpretation of the psychological implications of various behavior problems. The material, along with the suggestions as to educational programs for teachers, should be of much practical value to those planning the curriculums of normal schools. To those in the field of mental hygiene, it should be of value in making clearer the teacher's problems and viewpoints.

CORNELIA D. HOPKINS

INSTITUTE FOR JUVENILE RESEARCH
CHICAGO

Essentials of Civilization. By THOMAS JESSE JONES. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929. Pp. xxvii+267. \$2.50; student ed., \$2.00.

We have here a discursive attempt "to ascertain the essential values of civilization." The method is to inquire into the objectives of what are taken as the six general types of organization through which civilization functions—governmental, industrial, educational, religious, philanthropic, and art. But the approach is through primitive society "where life in its simple forms may still be seen." The first essential of primitive life is physical welfare as typified by health, the second "the power of integration with the environment, material and human," the third, "a proper regard for the home and the household, for women and children, as the agencies primarily responsible for the transfer of tribal capacities," and the fourth, recreations of body and mind. These, discovered as the essentials of life in primitive communities, are now taken as the minimum essentials of life in any society, and the six types of organizations are adjudged in terms of effectiveness in realizing these essentials as objectives.

The book is clearly organized—much more clearly than is the civilization treated in it. There are six fundamental organizations and four essential objectives for them. It is quickly seen, however, that there is a great discrepancy between any one of the organizations and even the function named after it: there is much more religion in the world than is contained in or is fostered by churches; much more art than in art organizations, etc. The discrepancy, moreover, increases between the organizations and the generalized objectives marked by health, environment, home, and recreation. Where such discrepancy exists between organizations and their reputed ends, the slack must be taken up, and the easiest way is to grow hortatory. This the author does throughout—ending with a preachment upon the threefold modern needs of "synthesis, survey, and service."

I would not leave the impression that the book is without merit or interest. It starts autobiographically with the author's disillusioning arrival in America as an immigrant boy, passes through his versatile educational and important social experiences, and ends with the far-flung opportunities that have come to him as educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. This is interesting and important, too; for without the biographical information the reader would hardly guess that the author had had such a responsible career. The book does not in any organic sense grow out of the experiences, any more than do the four criteria

of civilization grow out of his acquaintance with an analysis of primitive people, though for some reason both are thus explained by the author. The criteria are really products of a priori reflection or of common sense. The latter is the more reasonable derivation, considering the highly uncritical use made through the book of the category "home." Not that either of these derivations is illegitimate or the author's criteria bad. But the book appears in an "American Social Science Series"; it preserves the form of living up to that title, but in content it is not scientific. Nor is it social in any other than an honorific sense. It is gently philosophic; that is, it could have grown out of an armchair. But it masquerades under the wrong color by being in this series (unless the other volumes in the series live down to it) and by being hortatory rather than analytically exploratory.

One suspects that at bottom the book is religiously, rather than either scientifically or philosophically, motivated. Great respect is shown throughout for "authorities" in a field where no authorities exist; and Jesus bulks larger in the book than does Owen D. Young, "the distinguished American Financier" (capitalization the author's), or than does Raymond B. Fosdick, who is quoted at the end to corroborate the author's main conclusion—the necessity of "community consciousness." If this suspicion be not unfair to the author, this book would deserve a better reception if it were greatly reduced in size (even though now it is smaller than its subject), gave up its scientific pretensions, and relied simply and humbly upon sacred authorities. As it stands, this is a large, light book—irrelevantly biographical, anecdotally factual, persistently hortatory.

T. V. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Women in the Modern World: The Changing Educational, Political, Economic, and Social Relationships of Women in the United States (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, No. 232, May, 1929). Philadelphia, 1929. Pp. viii+396. \$2.00.

Women in the Modern World is the somewhat ambitious title given to a volume dealing with the "changing educational, political, economic, and social relationships of women in the United States." It is perhaps a reflection of the changing interest in the position of women that in 1929 the subject should be thus broadly stated, whereas in 1914, when the Academy last held a session on women, it was concerned almost exclusively with their political position.

The thirty-six articles that make up the volume are most of them by authors who have already written on the questions they discuss here. Accordingly they contribute little either of information or ideas not available elsewhere. The value of this collection lies rather in its bringing together in summary fashion the results of much of the recent work concerned with the position of women.

Some will find this summary disheartening. It reveals all too clearly that women are still far from sharing equally with men in the work of the world and its rewards. Wherever one looks, at women in industry, women in business, wom-

en on college faculties, women in the public schools, women "creative citizens," there is the same story of relatively few women compared with men in the positions that are thought to be more interesting and to call forth the greater exercise of the individual's faculties and that carry the greater recognition and the larger salaries; relatively many women in the positions that offer little in themselves or in compensating pecuniary rewards. All this is a familiar story, worth calling attention to only because there are still people who either do not know it or forget it and get into print with articles professing concern for civilization because it is rapidly falling under the dominance of women. Perhaps the story should not be disheartening. If the emphasis were on the changes that have taken place rather than on the present position, the effect would be different. If women in 1929 have not equal opportunities with men to choose their place in the world and to achieve success, they are perceptibly nearer to that goal than they were in the days of Susan B. Anthony.

Another point of interest in this volume rather more encouraging is the relatively large amount of attention given to the married woman. One section of the volume is entitled "Woman's Contribution to the Modern Home." Here perhaps the dominant note is that of emphasizing the importance of the woman home-maker, but the terms in which it is done are not those of the romantic orator but the more calculating terms used in discussions of organization of industry. But along with this general attempt to secure recognition of the contribution of women in the home, there is found explicit recognition of the fact that for some women it may be desirable so to organize the work of the home that it is a part-time job only and may be combined with other jobs.

More elaborate consideration of this problem is given in the section called the "Integration of Women's Activities." Here attention is concentrated on the women who both work outside the home and maintain a home. No tears are shed over the sad lot of the woman thus burdened, even though reports of studies of married women at work indicate that both in industry and in business and the professions it is economic pressure that is responsible for most of them being gainfully employed. On the contrary, the authors of these articles seem to accept quite as a matter of course a future in which it will be "normal" for married women to work at tasks outside their homes. In the meantime, the difficulties of the individual woman who tries to do this are not ignored. Those that are emphasized are psychological rather than physical, and there is evident a disposition to think of them as incidental to a period of transition, while it is still somewhat unusual for married women to work outside the home. The emphasis on the emotional adjustments and the effects on personality is in line with modern thought, and calls attention to some factors somewhat neglected in discussion of married women's work. But it should not obscure the fact that there is much work to be done in reorganization of the household services and perhaps of industry generally before it is easy for the women not exceptionally endowed on the physical side to be wife and mother as well as wage-earner.

HELEN R. WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Mexican Agrarian Revolution (The Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution). By FRANK TANNENBAUM. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. Pp. xvi+543. \$2.50.

For almost twenty years the country south of the Rio Grande has been stirred by revolution. The basis of the social upheavals, which began with the presidential candidacy of Madero in 1910, was scarcely recognized at first, but now it is clearly seen to be the agrarian problem. This problem is not yet solved, but an important attempt at its solution is in progress.

The rural population of Mexico lives either in free villages or on haciendas. The villages, consisting usually of less than 300 inhabitants, have insufficient lands, work-animals, and implements, carry on primitive hoe agriculture, and are frequently located within the limits of haciendas and are dominated by them. The predominant agricultural organization, however, is not the free village but rather the large estate or hacienda. Two per cent of all rural *properties* in Mexico in 1921 were holdings of 1,000 hectares or more, and may with fair accuracy be called haciendas; 98 per cent of the properties were village properties. But the hacienda constituted 58 per cent of all rural *lands* by area, and 54 per cent by value.

Twenty per cent of the rural families own lands; but of this 20 per cent, less than 1 per cent own approximately two-thirds of the area and four-fifths of the value of the rural lands in Mexico. . . . Less than 2,700 people own more than one-half of the privately owned lands in the Republic. . . . One hundred and fourteen owners own approximately one-fourth of all the privately owned lands of Mexico.

With such a semifeudal background the revolution is moving very slowly toward a distribution of the lands. By 1926 "the net effect of land distribution has been to give some 4 per cent of the total area of the Republic to some 5 per cent of the total population." Existing legislation, administration, and the temper of the country presage a continuation of the process of land distribution which has begun. "The revolution has freed approximately one-half of the rural population from [debt] serfdom." It has been accompanied by the development of organization among agricultural laborers, the establishment of a labor code, the extension of rural education, and beginnings of village co-operation to deal collectively with local problems.

Mr. Tannenbaum has sketched the history of the land problem, and has made readily available much statistical information on land holdings in Mexico. He has given us the first statistics on foreign-owned properties in Mexico, and has dealt with the relation between agrarianism and nationalism. He has given us a book valuable in many respects; I recommend that it be read. Mr. Tannenbaum is not always critical when he should be; for example he presents without qualification the claim of the Mexican Federation of Labor (C.R.O.M.) to a membership of 2,000,000 in 1926. His study is too largely confined to analysis of laws on paper. He fails to give us the study of what is actually happening in the rural districts which we expect from one who has been in the field.

PAUL S. TAYLOR

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

- Ideals of Love and Marriage.* By the Committee on Marriage and Home, of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. New York, 1929. Pp. 31.
- What Is Wrong with Marriage?* By DR. G. V. HAMILTON and KENNETH MACGOWAN. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1929. Pp. xxi+319. \$3.00.

The Committee on Marriage and the Home of the Federal Council includes Bishop James Cannon, Jr., as chairman and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Mr. George Wickersham, and Bishop Francis J. McConnell among the twenty-four members. This first report is preliminary to others that the Committee expects to issue on the training of youth for marriage, safeguarding marriage, the rights of children, unhappy marriages, and the problem of divorce. The Committee attempts "to throw lax sex relations, lower forms of marriage, problems of the disturbed home, divorce, and malpractice as to marriage by the church itself against the backgrounds and standards of the Christian ideal of marriage, but with the conviction also that the ideal is vindicated by the experience of the race." It does not pronounce upon divorce except to say that divorce is always a tragic failure of marriage, that pastors should be careful about marrying divorced persons from other communions, and to point out that the responsibilities of the church and of the state with regard to divorce are very different.

The Report naturally discusses several different topics: (1) the importance of distinguishing between love and desire and the place of each in the relationship between persons of different sex; (2) the factors during recent years bringing about radical changes in many relationships and especially those in which the position of women had been less than free, especially the profound disturbances in her position in the family group; (3) the failure under modern industrial and business conditions to mitigate the conditions of family life in the way of providing adequate wages, regular employment, decent comfortable housing, reasonable assistance in the performance of her marital and maternal duties; attention might have been called to the acquiescence of great groups in the community in leaving maternity itself in many quarters unguarded and perilous; and (4) the frequent failure of the church itself to discover these deficiencies and in making further organized efforts to remove them.

That monogamous marriage is the basic form of human marriage is recognized by such biologists as Professor Herbert Jennings and by many anthropologists. And it is the American ideal of marriage. The early period of marriage is characterized however by tension, and the adjustment of differing personalities to a common undertaking is often difficult. But the Committee is very clear in its denial of any virtue to "companionate marriage" and even more positive in its abhorrence of lax relationships outside any bond. "The Christian ideal of marriage can make no compromise with lax sex relations." Reference is made to the "marrying parson" who has created scandals, and the Committee appeals to such ministers to discontinue their

traffic and recommends that when persuasion and admonition are unavailing, responsible ecclesiastical bodies exercise their powers of discipline.

They urge the discouragement of very early marriage and find that runaway marriages should never be knowingly performed by the clergy.

The recommendations have to do with the attitude of the young toward the sterner obligations of family life, with the conduct of the clergy, and beyond the bounds of the church with such economic and social factors as were referred to before, namely, the provision of decent living, adequate incomes, regular work, and the recognition of the needs of both husband and wife for large social and community contacts.

In striking contrast to the Committee report is the book, *What is Wrong with Marriage?* That there has been a great deal wrong with the institution of marriage and of the family has been the burden of feminist protest these seven decades since the enunciation of the Declaration of Sentiments by the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848; that much was "wrong" with *human nature in marriage* could undoubtedly have been testified to by the priests to whose spiritual ministrations the erring youth and spouses have come through the centuries since the church assumed spiritual government of this institution. Confusion and uncertainty have, of course, been inevitably associated with the changes brought about by the industrial revolution, substituting individual bargaining for family industry, by education and the wider occupational opportunities for women, giving them the consciousness of a freer world, in which, however, they do not yet fully share if they assume responsibilities of family life. The modern student of social conditions has also foreseen new adjustments made necessary by the dislocation of local and community ties caused by the World War, with the new sense of power coming through political emancipation. Because of the obviousness of the wrong, such a book as the second on our list seems to be nothing less than astounding. That a scientifically equipped person like Dr. Watson should put on ex cathedra such statements as are found in his Introduction seems incredible. "It [sex] is admittedly the most important subject in life (page xiv)." "Admitted" by whom? In whose life? What is a "subject in life"? Where is power? Where is curiosity? Where is profit-seeking? Where is need of nutrition? And granted that the subject is of sufficient importance, and it is undoubtedly of great importance, can scientific results be obtained by asking questions of one hundred men and one hundred women? And *such* questions! For it would be interesting to obtain the opinion of an expert on evidence with reference to the nature of these questions. Watson himself suggests that the selection of the two hundred persons was possibly unsatisfactory and that the statistical percentages worked out on the basis of one hundred cases would hardly be satisfactory to the student, since the statistician would call attention to the failure to tell more carefully how the cases were selected, to show that they were representative geographically, economically, occupationally, physically, mentally, and socially of the whole population.

As to the method of weighting the replies to the different questions the author writes as follows:

In rating a marriage [as happy or successful or unhappy and unsuccessful], one point is allowed for the proper answer to each question except the twelfth; the proper answer to number twelve adds two points to the rating. To secure a point on any of the first three questions the answers must be negative—"Nothing," "Nothing serious," or, in the case of the third question, "Only minor habits." The answer to the fourth question must be "Yes"; to the fifth a negative; to the sixth, "Never"; to the seventh, "Yes"; to the eighth, "No"; to the ninth, "Yes." To get a point on the tenth question, the description of the spouse's disposition must contain no reference whatsoever to any undesirable trait. The answer to the eleventh question must be "Nothing." To secure two points on the twelfth question, the subject must say that the marriage is successful or at least not unsuccessful; a qualified denial of its failure will not do. He must propose no changes in answer to the last question.

The percentages of the total numbers are obviously simple, since there are one hundred subjects of each sex; but the percentages of the classes into which the replies fall are often very elaborate, and the numbers dealt with are very small. For example, in the tables in chapter ix, the man's mother is exhibited as the true villain in the drama. Of thirty-four men not on affectionate terms with the mother, 41 per cent, or fourteen, were happy; of twelve men on very affectionate terms, 42 per cent, or five, were happy! The comment is to the effect that

the men who had felt an extravagant mother-love and the men who had felt little or or none were below the average of happiness; but the men who had felt steady, temperate mother-love were on the happily married side of the examiner's ledger. Obviously, this suggests, if it does not prove, that, for the boy's future happiness in marriage, it is best for him to be on friendly and affectionate terms with his mother *without over-doing it*. . . . To generalize: Mothers' boys and mother-haters don't make happy husbands or good husbands.

Another way of testing the quality of a son's relationship to his mother is to ask him: "During your life with your parents were you fonder of one parent than the other?" Only seventy-nine of the hundred men answered this question definitely enough for their replies to be of any use. But here again the moderate course *plus mother-love* won out.

39 men fonder of mother than father	44% happy
20 men fonder of father than mother	60% happy
20 men equally fond of both parents	70% happy

Fondness for the mother was essential to the greatest married happiness, but freedom from the apron strings of a mother complex was even more important.

The book would be amusing if the subject were not so serious. When one looks for the true villain in the drama, she is found to be, as in the Garden of Eden (which, if one remembers rightly was pre-Victorian, well before the days of Westermarck) "The woman who tempted me and I did eat." Here, however, it is not the wife but the mother who is to blame. In a study of this kind, it

seems to make very little difference on which woman the responsibilities for the evils of the world can be laid.

And if one turns to the remedies proposed one questions whether the authors have the scholar's humility. Dr. Watson finds in Dr. Hamilton's discussion the important contribution to an adequate understanding of this difficult subject, and Dr. Hamilton finds the ultimate salvation for all the ills in view in Dr. Watson's treatise on the care of children!

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth. By E. T. BAZELEY, M.A., with an Introduction by LORD LYTTON. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1928. Pp. 200. 7s. 6d.

This book deals with the problem of method in the reshaping of delinquent habits. True, it seeks only to tell the somewhat dramatic story of a man and his attempt to make his beliefs and faiths work out in a concrete situation. But behind the story lies the question of method and of principle.

Homer Lane was a unique person. He held unorthodox ideas, and he behaved in an unorthodox fashion. Probably no one can say with assurance that whatever measure of success the Little Commonwealth had was due either to Mr. Lane or to his method. Certainly the method was merely an attempt to capture what he conceived to be a spiritual force. But the events which Miss Bazeley recounts seem to suggest that the spiritual force at work was to a large degree merely a personal bond—or better—a network of personal bonds within the community.

Though there seems no very great likelihood that the Little Commonwealth will be revived—owing in part to the high degree of success being achieved by the more orthodox industrial and reformatory schools in England—the name of Homer Lane is still certain to provoke animated discussion among persons engaged in industrial and reformatory school work. Some of the heads of schools have consciously modified the program in their schools as a direct result of the work of the Little Commonwealth. Certainly, in a good many other cases, the last decade has brought about a marked lessening of coercion, and an increased opportunity for self-expression. If Lord Lytton's suggestion in the opening paragraphs of his introduction was correct for 1918, viz., that the Little Commonwealth was the only school of its kind in England which did not have bolts and locks to keep the boys and girls from escaping, there has been a notable change in externals as well as in program and method.

One of the tests which any social method must meet is that of its harmony with the ultimate objects which the particular service seeks to attain. In relation to that question in its application to English reformatory and industrial schools, it is significant to bear in mind that with but very rare exceptions children are placed, upon release, in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, the girls being placed almost exclusively in domestic service. This being the case—and

it appears likely to remain the case for some time—it is seriously questionable whether or not the large measure of freedom, community responsibility, and individual initiative fostered by the Little Commonwealth idea is as advantageous as is a method which imposes discipline in the manner in which it will be imposed in later employment.

Miss Bazeley has told her story well, and though the effect of the telling is that of raising rather than answering questions, the result is stimulating.

EARL D. MYERS

LONDON, ENGLAND

A Theory of the Labor Movement. By SELIG PERLMAN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. 318. \$2.25.

This is a courageous book. It attempts to bring all the strands of the labor movement in various countries and at various times under a dominating explanatory principle. The central thesis has to do with the relation of the intellectual to the labor movement. It is Professor Perlman's contention that the intellectual sees labor's problems in distorted terms and that his intervention carries and has always carried with it the threat of putting labor off the track of its true interests. To the intellectual, labor is an abstract "mass" in the grip of an abstract "force," although the nature of the "mass" and "force" varies with the type of intellectual. Of these, three different kinds are distinguished—the Marxian, the ethical group like the Positivists and Christian Socialists, and the social efficiency type best illustrated by the Fabians. According to the author, a fundamental antagonism exists between all three types of intellectual and "organic" labor. Each type conceives labor as destined to be the standard-bearer of its own particular panacea. To the Marxian, for instance, labor is the inevitable instrument of the revolution; to the "ethical" intellectual, labor must win "access to the highest reaches of industrial management and creative planning," and for the social efficiency group labor's rôle is to help win governmental regulations and industrial organization by the political community.

The essential preoccupation of labor, on the other hand, is with the control of the job. Wage-earning groups express themselves most typically when, through their trade unions, they struggle for "the ownership of job opportunities" and devise rules for "job occupancy and tenure." Labor's activity in this field is determined by a scarcity consciousness in contrast to the business man's consciousness of abundance out of which arises competitive activity. This distinction between scarcity and abundance consciousness dictates the method of adjusting the relation of the individual to his group. When opportunity is plentiful, the business man sees no need for any common action, but labor, threatened with "job scarcity," feels the necessity of asserting collective control over all the opportunities for work and parceling them out according to some recognized principle of justice. It is then this control of employment oppor-

tunities that is really on labor's mind. Furthermore, when the wage-earner "can express himself in and through his trade union free of domination by intellectuals, who are never too bashful to do his thinking for him," he "seldom dreams of shouldering the risks of management." Rather, he will concentrate on the "shop" and on "working rules." Gradually, as labor works out its own "organic" philosophy, Professor Perlman believes it will leave behind the "cruder methods of sheer restrictiveness" and "swing towards a partnership with the employer manager group for the creation of a higher industrial efficiency." It will "depend for guidance less and less on a dogmatic anti-capitalist philosophy and more and more on a pragmatic faith in industrial government through a co-operation of equally indispensable 'functional' classes."

In four chapters dealing with the Russian, German, English, and American labor movements, the reader will find how Mr. Perlman supports and illustrates his thesis.

This brief account of necessity oversimplifies the picture, leaving out the subtleties and qualifications of the theory. And yet perhaps it is sufficient to suggest how challenging is Professor Perlman's thesis. Students of labor problems may well disagree with the author's interpretation of the labor struggle at this point or that. But agreement is not important. The book deserves study for the sake of seeing the labor struggle in a pattern and judging where the pattern fits and where it fails. Life has a way of being richer than theories, and sometimes Professor Perlman's explanation seems simpler than the facts to be explained. He hardly does justice, for instance, to the many complicated factors which have gone into the making of British labor ideology. He contends that the International Typographical Union of America "furnishes a true exhibition of the psychology of the labor group" because, free from the domination of intellectuals, it has worked out with such conspicuous success the control of job opportunities. Contrast, however, the situation of the British miners—living in isolated homogeneous communities, schooled in the recognition of inefficiency and waste in mine organization, faced by the problem of economic survival—and it is not hard to see why their "organic" "home-grown" philosophy reads in very different terms! But the psychology of one group is as "true" as the other.

Finally, when Professor Perlman discusses "intellectuals," it is not of the genus he speaks, but only of certain species. In his last chapter he quotes extensively from Karl Zwing in Germany, author of *The Sociology of the Trade Union Movement*, whose advanced trade union philosophy he takes as furnishing a clue to the way that labor is to travel. Indeed Professor Perlman maintains that the intellectual may serve the labor movement if he will learn to do three things: "to bring out from its sombre shell the kernel of the philosophy native to labor"; "to endow that philosophy with an attractiveness which only specialists in thinking in general concepts and in inventing 'blessed' words for these concepts are capable of"; "to bring this 'home-grown' philosophy of labor into close correlation with broader public service." Whether or not these limitations must be accepted is a matter on which there may be some disagreement. But

there can be no doubt that Professor Perlman has rendered his fellow-intellectuals a great service in raising and defining the issues.

HELEN EVERETT

MADISON, WISCONSIN

The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895. By NORMAN J. WARE. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1929. Pp. xviii+409. \$3.00.

Not another outline for a labor problems class, nor yet a book of reference readings, but a convenient, analytical volume that covers the most exciting moments of our labor history. During these brief thirty-five years labor leaders fought and bled on the narrow front of craft unity and on the broad one of national labor organization; and from the heated struggles of individuals and their followers certain crystallized attitudes and sacred forms survived that are now the life blood of the American Federation of Labor.

But the credit for this volume does not belong wholly to Mr. Ware. Without the order that had been brought into the confusion of these years by Richard T. Ely and then by John R. Commons, a neat, digestible performance would be impossible. Professor Ely was chiefly responsible for salvaging the evidence by means of which history can be pieced together; and for procuring guardians, the American Bureau of Industrial Research, to care for the accumulated material. From the grimy tomes and the yellowed papers and magazines, the ten volumes of *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* emerged in 1910. Professor Commons had edited this work. As a teacher at Wisconsin, he now drew to himself a group of mature students who were curious about American labor history. Plowing through the most valuable trade union documents that had been retrieved, he and his co-workers spent years in fashioning theories around which the history could be held together: the labor movement developed after the retreat to the frontier was shut off; the prosperous years in America turned workers to industrial activity, the lean ones to politics or co-operation; it was inevitable that the American Federation of Labor survive in the struggle with the Knights because the former played up to the economic self-interest of the skilled workers. So a path was made out of the tangle of facts, periods were marked out, labels were tacked on, words were given new authority. And the enormous undertaking was completed by Commons and Associates in 1918.

First, the scouting librarian, then the builder of theories, and last of all the palatable historian. The encyclopedic details and the heavy footnotes of Mr. Commons' two volumes nourish the specialist, but not the time-limited student or the casual reader. Too much concentration is required to draw the juice out of more than a thousand tightly packed pages! Mr. Perlman attempted to put the conclusions within the boundaries of a single volume, but without freshening the fact-finding style or creating flesh-and-blood leaders. The result was another earnest book that would not be read unless assigned to a class.

Mr. Ware alone has met the present need. His first book (published, 1924) covers labor history from 1840 to 1860; while his present one deals with the

critical years from 1860 to 1895. If another volume were added, to describe the growth and present position of the American Federation of Labor, the trilogy would be complete. As a historian Mr. Ware is not without charm. He combines the qualities of a modern scholar and a journalist. Because he is the former, he re-examines in detail current documents and wades through personal correspondence, weighing the validity of diaries, gossip, and oratory. There is in his book no network of theory, within which chapters and paragraphs grow, for he is suspicious of reasoning that turns back from what exists to prove its inevitability. His effort is rather to discuss the movements as they occurred, judging each by the criteria of its day. Because Mr. Ware has the qualities of a journalist he tends to cover his material briskly, delegating constitutions and platforms to the appendixes and vivifying his narrative by personal descriptions of leaders. His words are not elegant, nor chosen with delicate precision. And now and then, as in the case of any journalist, the copy seems labored and the ideas mechanically regimented.

The story of *The Labor Movement from 1860 to 1895* runs chiefly in terms of the Knights of Labor. In dealing with this organization, Mr. Ware not only throws overboard certain theories of Mr. Commons that had gained an easy acceptance, but he introduces a new emphasis of his own. The Knights are shown to us as the first "bona fide national trade and labor society," whose strength developed naturally from small beginnings rather than artificially by the co-ordination of existing bodies. In contrast to the Federation, the Order is pictured as an advance movement. Its achievements are measured by its own standards and not by those of modern trade unions. And its final eclipse by the Federation comes as the result of intricate circumstances, some controllable and some hap-hazard. During the march of events Mr. Powderly, the head of the Knights, arises as a vain, hesitant leader. The purity of his motives is questioned. And he himself is sketched as a physical weakling, with a few obstinate convictions about land and temperance. He attracted and held his followers by oratory and letter-writing. Another student, examining the same evidence, might have summarized him with less confidence and more truth.

The weaknesses of the book are most apparent in the later chapters (xiii-xviii), where an analysis of various phases of the labor movement is attempted. The style is choppy, and the thought tends to follow conventional leads. One feels that Mr. Ware has not gone deeply into socialistic literature and is therefore not prepared to draw a few ripe conclusions from a background of understanding. One questions his facile, borrowed explanation of the workingman's shift to politics. One finds the subject of co-operation confused and tedious. If the author had admittedly confined himself to a study of the Knights, he would have achieved a finished product. Nevertheless, what he has done is good, for this history writing is more shrewd and picturesque than its predecessors.

SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE

ANITA MARBURG

The Amazing Career of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. By A. J. HARROP. With Extracts from *A Letter from Sydney* (1829). London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928. Pp. 253. 7s. 6d.

This interesting book is, in a sense, a memorial volume commemorating the publication, one hundred years ago, of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's famous *Letter from Sydney . . . together with the Outline of a System of Colonization*. At the time when his famous scheme for developing Australasia was first set out, Wakefield was a prisoner in Newgate. He had begun to think of the English colonies, first, because he might have been transported there for the reckless crime which sent him for three years to the great English convict prison; and, second, because he had indomitable courage and looked for a political career in the colonies after his release from the prison sentence which he thought would put an end to any possible future at home.

Americans, and particularly American social workers who are keenly interested in problems of migration, will find this account of Wakefield's amazing career an intensely interesting book. Wakefield had read or in some way heard of the policy we had adopted in the United States of selling land to immigrants when the British policy was that of disposing of colonial territories by free gifts of great tracts of land.

His picture of life in New Zealand, which was published in pamphlet form in 1829 while he was still a prisoner in Newgate, was so vivid, so readable, and so astonishingly accurate in its details that it was generally accepted as the work of an actual settler. Apparently he had learned a great deal about Australasia by talking with the men who had been transported convicts and had then found their way back to England—and back to Newgate.

Before he was released from prison the following year he wrote an important article on emigration, which was published in the *Spectator* (April 3, 1830) under the title, "The Cure and Prevention of Pauperism by Means of Systematic Colonization." The development of the "Wakefield System" in contrast to "Wilmot-Hortonism," the formation of the National Colonization Society, the publication of Wakefield's famous book, *England and America*, and the famous pamphlet, *A Statement of the Principles and Objects of a Proposed National Society for the Cure and Prevention of Pauperism by Means of Systematic Colonization*—all of which marked the first three years after Wakefield's release from prison—are all critically discussed in this volume and make very interesting reading.

This book is especially timely since the old questions of overpopulation, unemployment, emigration, and colonization are important political issues again today in Great Britain. And everyone interested in our American immigration policy will find this careful study of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's career a book that provides material deserving of thoughtful consideration.

EDITH ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The North Carolina Chain Gang. By JESSE F. STEINER and ROY M. BROWN. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1927. Pp. 194. \$2.00.

The North Carolina Chain Gang presents the venerable but appalling institution of the American county jail in an even more appalling guise than that in which it appears in the North and West. The chain gang relieves the curse of idleness that residential jails enjoy, but substitutes therefor a group of curses, beside which enforced idleness in the "bull pen" does not seem especially formidable. Though much might be contributed to the ever-present problem of the man who comes into court for minor offenses, and for whom the law prescribes a short period of detention, by a carefully worked out system of productive labor, the chain gang adds nothing unless it be in the direction of more effective degradation.

The study forms part of the intensive attempt that a small group at North Carolina University has been making to understand in detail social conditions within the state. Though the picture is accurate, it is somewhat lacking in completeness. This is particularly true of the case materials. The making of case studies is, of course, expensive, and enormously difficult, especially under the circumstances surrounding Negroes in a southern chain gang. But the reader cannot but wish that the case stories might have presented greater detail. Further, one cannot but wonder that of the three cases of Negroes presented as "typical" two should have been hopelessly feeble-minded and the third with a mental age of eleven years and four months. On first thought at least it scarcely seems likely that only feeble-minded colored men find their way into chain gangs.

On the whole the study is well done. It should prove of interest and value to persons interested in convict labor, county jails, as well as in the administration of justice as it affects colored people. Certainly one cannot but be impressed as he reads the book with the pathetic ineffectiveness of the county as a unit in local government.

EARL D. MYERS

LONDON, ENGLAND

Systematic Sociology in Germany: A Critical Analysis of Some Attempts to Establish Sociology as an Independent Science. By THEODORE ABEL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Pp. 169. \$3.00.

In the death of Albion W. Small, American sociologists lost the services of the most competent and sympathetic interpreter of the writings of the German sociologists. Outside of the work by Spykman on Simmel, and a few scattered articles by other writers, little has been done to re-establish the lines of communication between German and American sociologists that were broken by the war. This volume is to be welcomed, therefore, as an attempt to bring the contribu-

tions of four of the leading German sociologists to the attention of American students. The writers dealt with are Georg Simmel, Alfred Vierkandt, Leopold von Wiese, and Max Weber.

They seem to have been selected by the author because they are "the outstanding protagonists of sociology as a science with a special and limited subject-matter of its own." There are those who would question the wisdom of this choice, but such doubts would be readily inhibited, had the author given adequate and readable accounts of the writers he has chosen. In spite of Professor Giddings' comment on the jacket, that "it is a long while since any book on sociology has come from the press so important, so explanatory and so pleasuring," the reviewer ventures the opinion that the book is so unnecessarily dull and pedantic that it will not aid materially in inducing American students to read the works of the four sociologists in the original. This is particularly regrettable because the book gives only fragmentary and inadequate expositions of the contributions of Simmel, Vierkandt, von Wiese, and Weber.

The author bases his criticisms of the four systems he has undertaken to analyze upon "the postulate that the validity of a scientific system depends upon (1) an adequately delimited subject matter, (2) justifiable tasks of investigation, (3) a basis for the systematization of the subject matter, (4) adequate methods of investigation." He concludes that the four writers are in substantial agreement on the subject matter of sociology, which is "behavior patterns and behavior sequences that are aspects or results of interaction between human beings," which, he feels, is sufficiently delimited to justify the establishment of a separate discipline. As to his second requirement for scientific legitimacy, he finds the tasks of sociology as outlined by Simmel and Vierkandt inadequate; but

the proposition to measure and analyze social processes and to study their function in society which v. Wiese suggests, together with Weber's proposition that ideal constructs of types and regularities of social behavior be formulated, constitute a fairly complete set of tasks that justify a separate discipline.

Only one out of the four, according to the author, has shown the possibility that the third requirement for a science of sociology—a basis for systematization—can be adequately met. He finds this in Weber's typological procedure. Likewise, only Weber has met his fourth requirement, namely, adequate methods of investigation, but, sad to relate, this he has done only in part and not to the complete satisfaction of the author. In spite of this distressing situation, strange to say, the book closes with a note of optimism on the subject of the future possibilities of the science of sociology, which may indicate that the author does not take his analysis too seriously.

In a work of this kind one expects to find a fairly complete bibliography at least of the authors treated. The bibliography in this book does not do justice to the materials available.

LOUIS WIRTH

TULANE UNIVERSITY

The American Party Battle. By CHARLES A. BEARD. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. viii+150. \$1.50.

A little knowledge may be a dangerous thing, but this is an age of digests, tabloids, condensations, and simplifications. Some know how to boil down, and some do not. Professor Beard, in this little work, has undertaken a difficult task, and has done it about as well as perhaps it could be done. He is aware of the unavoidable defects of a too short and summary account of a long and complex historic process, but he has certainly contrived to avoid serious sins of omission or of commission.

He has written an admirable history of party evolution and party conflicts in the United States. He is impartial and philosophical. He not only gives information; he furnishes illumination. His introductory chapter is a model of its kind. Why parties at all, and why two-party systems, coalitions, blocs, etc.? Why do parties survive issues and die morally while pretending to carry on? What is back of party struggles? These questions are asked and answered objectively.

Students as well as general lay readers who feel that they do not know the political history of their country, or who are at a loss to account for recent apparent paradoxes in politics, or who would like to know what has happened to repuritanism or to democracy, are confidently referred to Professor Beard's little volume. It will not mislead them or disappoint them, although it will raise many interesting political, historical, and economic questions in their minds and prompt the reading of more elaborate works—an excellent quality, assuredly, in any book.

VICTOR S. YARROS

CHICAGO

Welfare Work in Mill Villages: The Story of Extra-Mill Activities in North Carolina. By HARRIET L. HERRING. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929. Pp. xi+406. \$5.00.

This study of welfare work in the mill villages of North Carolina possesses far more than local significance. The student of the textile industry who is interested in the industrial revolution now going on in the South, will find in this volume a wealth of material that is necessary for an understanding of this perplexing situation. The student of community organization will also find here a remarkably clear and objective analysis of the theory of paternalism as applied to the promotion of community activities. Both social workers and industrial managers, however widely different may be their major fields of interest, can read this book with profit.

Fortunately, this important study in a highly controversial field bears all the earmarks of painstaking scholarship. The author, who is a member of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina,

not only is thoroughly equipped for her task from an academic point of view but also has an inside knowledge of the textile industry gained through actual employment in southern cotton mills. Instead of relying on the questionnaire method, the author personally visited 322 out of the approximately 500 textile mills in the state and through personal interviews with mill managers, employees, public officials, and others laboriously gathered the mass of information upon which her statements and conclusions are based. Care was taken to select for study mills of all types located in different kinds of communities so that they would be fairly representative of the textile industry throughout the state.

In this intensive and extended investigation, the author brought together the facts concerning the early beginnings of welfare work in North Carolina and described in detail its later developments in different types of mill villages in connection with school, church, recreation, health, and other community activities. In the field of education, the mills no longer provide their own schools but co-operate with the public authorities in the support of consolidated and special tax schools attended by both mill children and other children in the wider community. There are, however, still found in some mill villages public schools attended almost entirely by children of mill employees. This tendency toward segregation is most marked in the field of religion. Aid and encouragement of churches is a form of activity in which many mills still engage with the result that mill workers tend to have their own churches even in suburban villages where they might have easy access to other churches in the city. One of the significant conclusions of the author is "the present trend toward the multiplication of mill churches rather than toward their blending with the other churches of the community, as is decidedly the case with schools." Especially valuable is the assembling of first-hand material which sets forth clearly the different types of mill villages and the various policies of the mills toward the management of the village communities and the housing of the workers. It is pointed out that housing, which was formerly almost as necessary to production as the mill machinery itself, has gradually become a welfare activity characterized by a growing tendency to provide more comfortable and attractive living quarters for the workers.

The author has supplemented her detailed presentation of the various activities of welfare work by giving considerable space to an expression of opinion concerning its value by managers, employees, community workers, teachers, public officials, and citizens in general. For the benefit perhaps of the general reader two chapters near the close of the book are devoted to a brief history of welfare work as it first developed in Europe and America. While such a discussion seems somewhat out of place and creates the impression that it was inserted as an afterthought, it at least does not interfere with the main subject matter of the volume. The final chapter in which is discussed the philosophy of welfare work and its rôle in single-industry communities is an admirable

summary of the conclusions growing out of the investigation. The entire volume is characterized by its careful and objective presentation of facts and by its sympathetic insight into the problems of southern cotton mill villages.

J. F. STEINER

TULANE UNIVERSITY

BRIEF NOTICES

A Short History of Medicine Introducing Medical Principles to Students and Non-Medical Readers. By CHARLES SINGER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xxiv+368. \$3.00.

The history of one of the oldest professions is interesting to the members of one of the newest of the professional groups. Dr. Singer's book is written for "educated men and women . . . whether they have had medical training or no." The book is enjoyably readable, beautifully printed, and has some excellent illustrations. The list of the six chief divisions gives a good idea of the scope of the work: I, Ancient Greece, to about 300 B.C.; II, The Heirs of Greece, from about 300 B.C. to about A.D. 200; III, the Middle Ages, from about A.D. 200 to about A.D. 1500; IV, The Rebirth of Science, from about 1500 to about 1700; V, The Period of Consolidation, from about 1700 to about 1825; VI, Period of Scientific Subdivision, from about 1825 onwards.

The last division deals, of course, with the revolution in preventive medicine and scientific specialization; again, the list of subjects discussed gives an idea of the interesting scope of the work: Anaesthesia; The Revolution in Surgery; Some Modern Surgical Advances; Bacteriology Becomes a Special Science; Some Important Bacteriological Results; The Study of Immunity; Some Practical Applications of Immunity; The Conquest of the Tropics—Yellow Fever and Malaria; The Changed View of Insanity; The New Movement in Psychology; The Revolution in Nursing; Some Modern Physiological Concepts of Clinical Import—Ductless Glands and Internal Secretions, Nervous Integration, Vitamins; Knowledge of the Eye and Its Disorders; Investigation of the Nature and Action of Drugs.

There is a valuable section on medical statistics under the title "Interpretation of Collective Medical Data," and there is also an interesting Epilogue. On the whole, the book is warmly recommended not only to medical social workers but to all members of the professional social service group.

The Scottish Countryside. Being the Report of the Scottish Liberal Land Inquiry Committee, 1927-1928. Glasgow: Scottish Liberal Federation, 1928. Pp. x+407. 1s.

This report was the outcome of a resolution passed by the Scottish Liberal Federation at their Annual Meeting in Edinburgh on April 30, 1927. At that

time, it was decided to set up a special committee to investigate the Rural Land Problem in Scotland so that a report with recommendations would be ready for last year's convention of the Liberal Party in Scotland.

The whole of Scotland from Orkney to Galloway was covered by fourteen special investigators who were commissioned to report on conditions in different parts of the country.

Many of the questions discussed—such as depopulation, conditions of life, rural housing and rural health—will be of interest to social workers in all countries. Our members who recently traveled across the continent to the San Francisco meeting of the National Conference of Social Work will find themselves interested in these agricultural discussions, "thin farming" and "under farming," afforestation, and reclamation whether applied to the Highlands of Scotland or the dry lands of western America. The discussion of "rating" contains recommendations for the transfer to the National authority of the whole system of supporting the unemployed and the outdoor relief given to those called "the able-bodied poor." With regard to the "grants-in-aid" from the National to the Local authorities for some of the social services there is the following very interesting statement:

Many social services are best administered locally, but on account of their semi-national character the principle of transferring a portion of their cost to the National Exchequer has long been recognised, and in recent years has been adopted on an increasing scale. Thus, grants of 50 per cent of the cost are given in the case of infant welfare and tuberculosis work and grants averaging over 50 per cent for education. These grants have the advantage of relieving rates while leaving with the local Authorities sufficient responsibility to ensure sound administration. At the same time the control gained by the Government, owing to its power to withhold the grants, has been of considerable benefit in keeping laggard Authorities up to a proper standard of efficiency.

The general principle of grants-in-aid of the local services has proved a success, and we believe it could now be extended in such a way as to transfer a further substantial burden from rates to taxes without undermining local responsibility.

In the section on rural housing a very dismal picture is drawn of the shortage of good housing. It is pointed out that the Local authorities have ample powers to deal with the question, but although some extensive housing improvements are under way in the large towns the cottages on farms and in villages remain below standard. It is noteworthy that the prevalence of tuberculosis in the country districts is attributed in large measure to the housing conditions, for it is pointed out that "the other conditions of outdoor life in the country, as compared with the indoor occupations in the city, should tend to diminish the danger of this disease." There is said to be much ill health among children and adults in the rural districts, and statistics collected by the Scottish Board of Health in 1925 apparently show "that over the whole country the percentage of cases of Pulmonary Tuberculosis was higher in the counties than in the burghs."

Laws Governing State Commissions and Departments for the Blind Revised to January 1, 1929. Compiled by EVELYN C. MCKAY. New York: American Foundation for the Blind, Inc., 1929. (Legislation Series No. 1.) Pp. 80.

Blind Relief Laws: Their Theory and Practice. By ROBERT B. IRWIN and EVELYN C. MCKAY. New York: American Foundation for the Blind, Inc. 1929. (Legislation Series No. 2.) Pp. 128. \$1.50 (cloth), \$1.00 (paper).

The publication of legislative compilations of this kind is necessary so long as progress must be made, step by step, in each one of the forty-eight states. These are important compilations bringing down to date studies first published in 1919 under analogous titles. The second contains an extremely interesting discussion of the fundamental principles that should underlie blind relief legislation (pp. 15-38) and a history of the text of the laws in twenty states. There are, too, important appendixes to the second study giving summaries of expenditures for blind relief by states, a sample form of application for relief, and a summary table of the laws of the different states.

John Wesley. A Portrait. By ABRAM LIPSKY. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1928. Pp. ix+305. \$3.00.

Mr. Lipsky calls his book on Wesley "A Portrait," and it is an interesting biographical study in the modern manner. Social workers will find it interesting because of Wesley's connection with the early social reform movements. The pictures of "life among the lowly" are frequently vivid:

An epidemic of drunkenness, brought on by the lowered cost of gin, raged among the poorer classes when Wesley began preaching. Half of the wheat produced in England was consumed in distilling gin, "that bane of health, that destroyer of strength, of life and of virtue." Every sixth house was a grog shop, and signs offering to make one drunk for a penny, dead drunk for two, with straw bedding on which to sleep it off thrown in gratis, were common. In 1727 the people in England drank three and one half million gallons of gin; in 1735 nearly five and one half millions; in 1742 seven million, one hundred and sixty-two gallons.

Especially important was the work of Wesley and the Methodist group in behalf of the prisoners and the numerous unfortunates condemned under the severe criminal code of the late eighteenth century.

The Methodists brought the consolation of the Gospel to men and women sentenced to die for petty theft and robbery, and the young revivalists in Wesley's train were amazed at their own powers when these mythical monsters whom they visited in prison broke down before their prayers and hymns and professed a hope of mercy in heaven. . . . A fashionable highwayman named M'Lean, condemned to be hanged, had three thousand people come to view him on the first Sunday after his condemnation. It was to a people capable of finding amusement in such sights that Wesley preached salvation by faith.

One may question Mr. Lipsky's statement that "the humanitarian movement which arose about the middle of the century is distinctly traceable to the religious revival. Howard's labors were inspired by the evangelical revival aroused by Methodism." Howard's work cannot be explained by Wesley's, but it is true that Wesley and the early Methodists did some early "case-work" with prisoners and other unfortunate people among whom they labored. Among the rules for Wesley's stewards is one that will especially interest the modern case worker: "Give none that asks relief either an ill word or an ill look. Do not hurt them if you cannot help them. Expect no thanks from man."

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Federal Penal and Reformatory Institutions: Hearings before the Special Committee on Federal Penal and Reformatory Institutions. House of Representatives, Seventieth Congress, Second Session, pursuant to H. Res. 233, January 7, 1929, to January 15, 1929. Washington, D.C.: Gov't. Printing Office, 1929.

In view of the recent prison riots, and particularly the difficulties at Leavenworth, this document is extremely valuable. Some very interesting material was prepared for the House Committee by Mr. Herbert D. Brown, the chief of the United States Bureau of Efficiency, and his staff, much of which is included in Appendix I. In addition there is some testimony given by a number of different experts which is well worth careful reading.

Of special interest is the testimony of Mr. George S. Wilson, the director of public welfare for the District of Columbia, who gave testimony regarding Occoquan and Lorton particularly, although he also dealt with other subjects; and the testimony of Mr. Nicholson, the New York State commissioner of correction, who also submitted a statement dealing with federal prisoners in New York State. The testimony of Dr. William A. White, the distinguished superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, shows the great need for federal institutions for criminal insane and the need of psychiatrists in the various federal prisons, since, in spite of having more prisoners than can be properly cared for at St. Elizabeth's by the present housing facilities, he feels that they are not getting so many prisoners as they should because, so long as the federal prisons and most of the other prisons in the country do not have psychiatrists, a great many prisoners who should be taken care of in an institution for the criminal insane remain in the ordinary prisons. As a result of a recent visit to Atlanta, Dr. White described it as "terribly overcrowded. All the corridors, between cell blocks and the wall, are filled with double-deck beds," and also expressed his opinion to the effect that there was no psychiatric service. At St. Elizabeth's there are two hundred prisoners and the number constantly increases. Dr. White added:

There are a good many men in the prisons who do not fit into the prison situation, and who are regarded as bad actors, incorrigible, and who are punished; who, under psychiatric observation, would be discovered to have definite mental disorder and would go to an appropriate institution.

I suppose that the Federal Government is going to have to build additional prisons. . . . The more institutions you have the better you can classify. I should think that an institution for Federal insane with 500 beds would be a legitimate enterprise at this

time, especially if you have a psychiatric service in the Federal penitentiaries to "feed it," as it were, because I am sure you would get enough people by the time such an institution was built to practically fill it [pp. 59-60].

In reply to a question from Congressman Boylan, one of the members of the Committee, who asked, "Doctor, do you not think that a large number of prisoners in penal institutions—not only state but also federal—should be in hospitals rather than prisons?" Dr. White replied that he thought there was no question about it.

After all [he said] it does not make any difference what we call these fellows; they ought to be in the kind of institutions which will do the best job for their rehabilitation, so that when they come out into society they will be able to function to the best advantage, primarily so far as your safety and mine is concerned; and, secondly, as regards their own ability to live a reasonably full life.

In reply to another question as to whether he thought there was an unusual punishment imposed upon prisoners in sending them to jail rather than to hospitals, Dr. White replied that he thought this was sometimes so. For example, he cited an example in which

the man was sent to the prison and the prison drove him crazy. It does not seem to me that that ought to by any construction be included in his sentence, because from my point of view every human being represents a certain investment, and to destroy that investment by any means is bad economics, and whatever is worth while in that individual should be saved and developed for future usefulness, either in the workshop of the prison or in the workshop of the world outside of the prison [pp. 72-73].

Mr. Amos Butler contributed a bit of interesting historical evidence in his testimony, pointing out that the federal government had never paid much attention to its prisoners until after the close of the Civil War. The first record he could find seemed to show that General Washington requested the people of Connecticut to take into their copper-mine prison at Simsbury certain persons whom he sent there.

We have been boarding our Federal prisoners in local prisons ever since [said Mr. Butler]. The aftermath of the Civil War aroused the States and eventually the Federal Government to the need of doing something for their prisoners themselves and not placing them out elsewhere. As Mr. Bennett pointed out, the first legislation was in 1891. The prison at Leavenworth was not begun until 1896, and it was 10 years before it was occupied. . . .

Atlanta was started after Leavenworth. At McNeil's Island the beginning was an old territorial prison owned by the Territory of Washington, which was turned over to the Federal Government. It is located on an island 3 miles away from the main shore. . . .

But after we got through with those three penitentiaries we quit and forgot all about our prisoners until the World War, and the aftermath of the World War came on and swamped us [pp. 93-94].

Marriage Statistics New York State (Exclusive of New York City), 1921-1924, with Introductory Analysis of Marriage Statistics, 1916-1924.
By J. V. DEPORTE, PH.D., Director, Division of Vital Statistics,
New York State Department of Health. Albany, 1928. Pp. xlv+
257.¹

One of the interesting suggestions in Miss Richmond's *Marriage and the State* is the establishment in one of the state departments of a bureau in which would be assembled and published, as a matter of routine, important facts concerning marriage. The foregoing report is an expression of interest in the same need and presents the figures for the state of New York for a nine-year period. A report containing the figures for 1916-19 was published in 1922. The figures for 1920 were incorporated in the report of the Division of Vital Statistics for that year. The present volume giving summary tables for 1916-24, and general tables for 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924 fill in the gaps. A change in the Domestic Relations Law made in 1927, requiring town and city clerks to forward their original marriage documents to the state department and to send copies of the documents to the county clerks, will make it possible in the future for the facts about marriage to be published at the same time with the birth and death statistics.

There are some interesting implications to be drawn from the present report, which in general does not include statistics from New York City. There seems no definite trend in the marriage rates that can be especially related to important social and economic conditions. The differences in the marriage rates in the various counties are not great if marriages of non-residents are excluded. If they are included, the rates are high in counties adjacent to other states.

The rural rate is higher than the urban rate, and there are interesting figures concerning the different groups classified on the basis of conjugal experience. A good deal of space is devoted to the subject of child marriages. The age of marriage has been the subject of legislation in 1926, when the ages of sixteen and fourteen were fixed as minimum ages; in 1927, when this provision was dropped; in 1928, when it was re-enacted, and in 1929, when the ages have been raised to eighteen and sixteen, except on court order and with both parents' consent. There are interesting figures accompanied with interesting comment on marriage by color and by country of birth of brides and grooms (pp. xxiii-xxx). There are especially suggestive comparisons of these figures with corresponding figures for earlier decades. (See especially the discussion on pp. xxxii and xxxiii).

It is to be hoped that other states will follow the example of the New York authorities and that in the not too distant future there may be a "registration area" for marriage and divorce statistics as well as for birth and mortality data.

¹ A limited number of copies are available for free distribution to persons who are particularly interested in the subject. Requests should be addressed to the Division of Vital Statistics, New York State Department of Health, Albany, N.Y.

Public Dance Halls, Their Regulation and Place in the Recreation of Adolescents (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 189). By ELLA GARDNER. Washington, 1929. Pp. 57. \$0.10.

At the request of agencies in a number of cities the United States Children's Bureau undertook a study of dance halls. In this publication there is summarized the legislation in twenty-eight states that deal with such subjects as licensing, investigation necessary to determine the suitability of places in which dances are held, the minimum age of participants, the hours when minors may attend, the lighting of the premises, the conduct of dances, types of dances, and supervision. Besides the summary of the laws, the conditions existing in fifteen cities that were visited, located in all parts of the country, are described and discussed. The relation of commercialized amusement in dance halls to community programs of recreation is discussed at some length; and the provisions of the Minnesota law, one of the two laws which include all the topics referred to, are cited in an Appendix. The publication is small in size but is full of material that will prove useful to settlement workers and to all concerned with the leisure-time activities of young people.

A Tabular Summary of State Laws Relating to Public Aid to Children in Their Own Homes in Effect January 1, 1929, and the Text of the Laws of Certain States. (United States Children's Bureau, Chart No. 3, 3d ed.) Washington, 1929. Pp. 37. \$0.10.

State Laws and Local Ordinances Regulating the Street Work of Children: A Tabular Summary of Regulations in Effect in the United States. By ELLA ARVILLA MERRITT. (U.S. Children's Bureau, Chart No. 15.) Washington, 1929. Pp. 29. \$0.10.

Analysis and Tabular Summary of State Laws Relating to Illegitimacy in the United States, in Effect January 1, 1928, and the Text of Selected Laws. By MARIETTA STEVENSON. (U.S. Children's Bureau, Chart No. 16.) Washington, 1929. Pp. 49. \$0.15.

The publications of the United States Children's Bureau range all the way from the most scientific type of inquiry, as illustrated by the infant mortality and maternal mortality studies and the recently published report on *The Child, the Family, and the Court* (Publication No. 193), to very popular and inviting leaflets showing mothers how to weigh and measure their children and what to give them three times a day. A special service that is of interest to public welfare officials, to persons concerned with social legislation, and also to professional social workers, which is not wholly new, is being developed in an interesting way and in a new format. Attention is called to three charts just published: Chart No. 3, giving a tabular summary of state laws relating to public aid to children

in their own homes, in effect January 1, 1929; Chart No. 15, giving a summary of state laws and local ordinances regulating the street work of children; and Chart No. 16, giving an analysis and tabular summary of state laws relating to illegitimacy, in effect January 1, 1928, with the text of selected laws.

The bureau has published so many studies of the Mothers' Pension Law that this chart contains nothing in the way of argumentation or of interpretation. It simply puts the student in touch with the legislative situation at the beginning of 1929, giving an authoritative analysis on twelve points of the laws then in effect with accurate references to the statutes from which the analyses are made and with the text of laws of eight selected states and the District of Columbia. This analysis with these texts can enable the student of the law in any state to determine how far his state measures up to the better standards adopted, and can also, in case it is desired to amend the act or to enact a new law, supply the form in which that legislation might be thrown. Very much less has been done on the subject of the legislative regulation of street work of children than on mothers' pension legislation. The chart on this subject then contains an admirable foreword giving an analysis of the laws and indicating the subject matter usually included and the degree to which the regulation is usually state legislation or takes the shape of municipal ordinances.

The chart dealing with the subject of illegitimacy was prepared at the request of the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations, and is one of the sources of information on the basis of which the League of Nations has issued a summary of the laws of different countries dealing with this problem.

The Age of Marriage and the Age of Consent. Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, Child Welfare Committee. Geneva: League of Nations, 1928. (IV. Social 1928. IV. 20) Pp. 32.¹

The Child Welfare Committee of the League is apparently attempting to render on an *international scale* one of the many useful services performed by the United States Children's Bureau on a *national scale*, and to give information with reference to the legislative situation in the different countries. This publication is one devoted to the subject of the age of marriage and the age of consent. Information was obtained on these subjects from forty-two countries, and the analysis of the data will prove useful to students of the world effort toward more intelligent and more uniform protection for children. This publication is of special interest in connection with the recent publicity given Miss Richmond's and Mr. Hall's *Child Marriages and Marriage Laws and Their Administration*.

¹ League Reports may be purchased from the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Massachusetts.

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